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THE

Description of Penbrokshire,

BY

GEORGE OWEN OF HENLLYS,

LORD OF KEMES.

Edited, with Notes and an Appendix,

BY

HENRY OWEN, B.C.L.Oxon., F.S.A.,

AUTHOR OF "GERALD THE WELSHMAN".

LONDON:

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1892

BAYERISCHE
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In Pious Memory

of

William Owen of Withybush

in the

County of Pembroke.

PREFACE.

THE name of George Owen of Henllys is little known, except to a small class of students. You may search for it in vain in the dictionaries of the biographies of Eminent Welshmen; and yet he was in many respects a remarkable man, who did yeoman's service to his country, and is more worthy to be had in remembrance than the crowd of apocryphal heroes and painful ministers who encumber those publications.

George Owen was born at Henllys, in the county of Pembroke, in 1552, and died there in 1613. He lived, therefore, in what is known as the Elizabethan age—the age in which the combined influence of the Renaissance and the Reformation gave an impetus to letters, and produced a galaxy of literary men unknown to former times in England.

The revival of learning had extended in a marked degree to Wales; Welshmen were everywhere coming to the front. It was no longer a disgrace to be a Welshman, when Welshmen held the throne; and perhaps never, before nor since, could the Principality show such a list of men who had made their mark.

There were statesmen like Sir John Perrot and Sir Edward Carne; soldiers like Sir Gelly Meyrick; merchant princes of London like Sir Hugh Myddelton and Sir Richard Clough; and lawyers like Sir William Jones, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland. Among ecclesiastics were John Williams, Dean of Westminster and Archbishop of York, the last Churchman who held the Great Seal, whom Dean Stanley calls 'one of the few eminent Welshmen who have figured in English history'; Hugh Price, the founder of Jesus College, Oxford; William Morgan and Richard Davies, the translators; to say nothing of John Penry (Martin Marprelate). In various departments of literature are to be found the famous

names of Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and his brother George Herbert; James Howell; Humphrey Lhwyd; David Powel; Sir John Price; Sir John Wynn of Gwydir; William Salesbury; John Owen, the epigrammatist; Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt. The list could be much prolonged.

What Holinshed, in his *Description of Britaine*, and Camden, in his *Britannia*, were doing on a more extended scale, Carew[1] and others were doing for their own localities; and Pembrokeshire may claim that it had no unworthy representative in the stirring days when that stout old Welshwoman, Elizabeth Owen—wrongly called Tudor[2]—reigned and ruled in England.

George Owen came of good Welsh stock. His father, William Owen (who was the first of the family to adopt the English fashion of surnames), belonged to the ancient house of Henllys, near Newport, Pembrokeshire. Of Henllys the author says that it did not appear that any other family or person than his ancestors had ever lived there. His mother, Elizabeth Herbert, was descended from Sir William ap Thomas, through William, Earl of Pembroke (of the first creation), who was the first Welshman (as is related in the following pages)[3] that was ever ennobled. But, notwithstanding his noble Welsh descent, George Owen was by no means a patriotic Welshman in the narrow sense of that term. He was proud to think that his own beloved county was called 'Little England', and he delighted to recount how Pembrokeshire men had beaten the Welsh, as they had conquered the Irish. He was a Pembrokeshire man, and it is singular in how short a time this strong local affection had developed. The shire was scarce fifty years old, yet he bore an undying hatred to the men of

[1] Carew's *Survey of Cornwall* was published in 1603; it has many points of similarity to the *Description of Penbrokshire*. Carew was of Pembrokeshire descent.

[2] The house of Tudor derived its name from its founder, Sir Owen ap Meredydd ap Tudur. He was called Owen Tudor by the English, who looked on 'Tudur' as his surname, whereas it was merely the name of his grandfather. The great Welsh dynasty should properly be called the House of Owen. See Coke's *Inst.*, Part IV, cap. 47.

[3] See p. 28, below.

Carmarthenshire, who had filched certain fair lordships from 'Little England'.[1]

Philip ap Riccard, an ancestor of the Owens, had married (*temp.* Henry III) Nest, the heiress of Henllys, the only daughter of Llewelyn ap Rhydderch, who was descended in the direct male line from Rhys ap Tewdwr,[2] the last king in South Wales. The father[3] of this Philip had married Ales, the only daughter of Nicholas Martin, the lord of Kemes, an event of no small importance to the fortunes of the future historian.

The Martins, lords of Kemes, were descended from Martin of Tours, a Norman who, in the reign of William Rufus, crossed over from the lands which had been granted to him in North Devon,[4] and landed near Fishguard. Profiting, like the other Norman invaders of Wales, by the endless internal dissensions of the Welsh, Martin and his successors were able to maintain their hold on the country until the marriage of William Martin, the grandson of the invader, with Angharad, a daughter of the Lord Rhys, the grandson of Rhys ap Tewdwr, quieted his possession. The author claims that the Martins held Kemes as a barony of the Crown *in capite*, and has shown that they were summoned to Parliament, in the reigns of Edward I and II, as lords of Kemes. The male line became extinct in William Martin, the second baron, who died in

[1] See note 3 on page 5, note 4 on page 206, and note 2 on p. 213, below.

[2] 'Tewdwr' and 'Tudur' (also spelt *Tudyr*) are distinct names in Welsh, though both have been Anglicized 'Tudor'. The correct Anglicization of *Tudur* would have been 'Tiddor' or 'Tidder'; the surname written 'Tudor' was recently pronounced 'Tither' (*th* = Welsh *dd*) at Pulverbatch in Shropshire.

[3] His name was Richard de Hoda (or Hood), and he was grandson of Lucas de Hoda, a knight in the train of Martin de Tours, who, according to Fenton (*Pemb.*, p. 535), gave his name to Hoodeston, afterwards called from his grandson Riccardston (in Kemes, mentioned on page 254 below. There was another Riccardston in Dewisland; see the map). It is called by Lewis Dwnn, *Heraldic Visitations*, i, 158, *Tre Rickart Hwd*, *i.e.*, 'Richard Hood's Town'.

[4] He gave his name to Combe Martin. Nicholas, lord of Kemes, the fourth in descent from Martin of Tours, acquired the lordship of Barnstaple by his marriage with the heiress of Guy de Brien. The Devonshire lordship passed with Kemes to the Audleys, but on the death of Nicholas Lord Audley reverted to the Crown. See Lysons' *Magna Britannia*, vol. vi, p. c.

1326; and the barony of Kemes passed, by the marriage of his sister Joan, to her son James, the famous Lord Audley of Heleigh, whose son Nicholas, who died in 1392, was the last of the lords Audley of that family.

Joan, the sister and heiress of this Nicholas, married Sir John Touchet, and the title of Audley and the barony of Kemes continued in the Touchet family until James, Lord Audley, who was beheaded in 1497 for taking part in the insurrection of Perkin Warbeck.

His son John was restored to the rest of the family estates in 1534, but the barony of Kemes was won back to the old Welsh house by William Owen, the father of the author, who claimed it as a descendant of the above-mentioned Ales, the daughter of Nicholas FitzMartin. William Owen's suit against Lord Audley lasted nineteen years, and in 1543 'Johannes Dom. de Audley relaxavit et quiet'. clamavit predict. William Owen et heredibus suis totum jus suum': a result which bears no small testimony to the legal ability and perseverance of the Pembrokeshire lawyer.[1]

[1] Among the Bronwydd MSS. is, in the author's writing, 'a bref note of the order of the pourchase (*i.e.*, acquisition) of the Lordship of Kemes by William Owen from John Lord Awdeley Mary his wiffe and George Awdeley his sonne and heire', from which it appears that the plaintiff after winning his suit proceeded with due legal caution. The proceedings were: 1. A recovery suffered by the defendant in the County Court of Pembroke 'to cutt off all estates tayle if any there were'. 2. A bargain and sale of the barony to the plaintiff 'under the hand & grete seale' of the defendant, with a condition of redemption on payment of ccc^{li}. 3. A release to the plaintiff of all the right and title of the defendant and his son. 4. A grant of further assurance between the same parties 'by obligacion in the some of twoe thowsande powndes'. 5. A covenant by the defendant 'in consideracion of lxxx^{li} xl oxen xx kyne & xx peeces of freeses of Kemes makinge', paid by the plaintiff to make further assurance of the barony. 6. A release of the barony, dated 21st August 1543. 7. Letters from the defendant 'under his grete seale of armes to all Stewardes Bayliffes, & other officers gentellmen yomen sutors freeholders and tenauntes' in the barony, charging them to 'obbey the said William Owen as theire very Lord and right owner of the said barony'. 8. A fine, 'with relese and duble warranty', levied by the defendant and Mary his wife at 'the sessions holden at Pembroke'. 9. A 'recovery by doble voucher' in the same sessions (the demandant being one 'John ab Owen ab david ap Gwillim').

'Hanc Baroniam (*Keimes*) Martinus de Turonibus primus a Cambris vi et

The barony of Kemes was co-extensive with the modern hundred now called Cemaes (but more correctly Cemais[1]), but did not include the parish of Llandudoch, which was granted to the Abbey of St. Dogmell,[2] founded by Robert FitzMartin.

The 'prooffes that Kemes is a Lordshippe Marcher' are to be found in the *Baronia de Kemeys;* that the Martins claimed independent rights, which brought them into conflict with the Earls of Pembroke, will be seen in the following pages; but it is probable that during the long rule of the Audleys, whose principal possessions were in England, these claims were not maintained.[3] It appears, however, from the records at Bronwydd that the author when Lord

armis extorsit, a cuius posteris, qui Martini dicti, per nuptias ad Barones de Audley deuenit, qui diu tenuerunt, donec regnante Henrico Octauo Guilielmus Owen, qui genus deduxit a filia Nicholai Martin Militis, ius suum longa liti persecutus tandem obtinuit, filioque Georgio reliquit, qui, venerandæ antiquitatis cultor eximius, me docuit esse in hac Baronia, præter tres Burgos, Newport scilicet, Fishgard, & S. Dogmaelis, Feoda Militaria xx. & parœcias xxvi.' Camden's *Britannia*, 6th ed. (1607), p. 512. This passage does not appear in any previous edition; Nevern and Kemes (there called *Keimeis*), the conquest of the latter by Martin, and its devolution to the Audleys, are first mentioned in the previous (5th or 1600) edition, p. 583. See Holland's English Camden, 1610, p. 654; and cf. the 4th ed. (1594), p. 503, for the corresponding paragraph in its earlier form. The spelling *Keimes* is also found in the *Baronia*, p. 24. It was for the 1607 edition of the *Britannia* (see pp. 508-9) that George Owen supplied the map of Pembrokeshire, which is inscribed 'Georgius Owen D. [*i.e.*, Dominus] Kemeis descripsit. Wilhelmus Kip sculpsit' (see p. xviii, below).

[1] The orthography *Cemaes* (or *Cemmaes*) is comparatively modern, and is based on the false assumption that the word is derived from *maes*, 'a field'. See *Y Cymmrodor*, xi, 42-3.

[2] The foundation has been sometimes ascribed to Martin of Tours (see Fenton, *Pemb.*, p. 514, and also Leland, *Collect.*, i, 105), who says: 'Fludus, Præcentor eccl. S. Davidis [*i.e.*, Thomas Lloyd, Precentor, who died in 1547], dixit mihi Martinum de turribus primo inter Normannos Kemesiam bello acquisivisse et hoc monasterium (St. Dogmaël) fundavisse ac ibidem in medio choro sepultum fuisse'). In the *Pembrock and Kemes* (see p. xxiii, below) the author states that Bernard, Bishop of St. David's, who died in 1148, was a witness to the deed of the foundation of the abbey by Robert Fitz Martin.

[3] 'The lordes Audeley .... of themselves before were lordes of the Parliamente, and soe the place of Kemes was drowned in that respecte.' (*Baronia*, p. 24.)

of Kemes did not suffer these claims to fail from want of use ; as he was for the last twenty years of his life in conflict with the Council of the Marches as to his rights of wardship and of imprisonment. Proceedings under a *quo warranto* were taken against him to examine into the question of the *jura regalia* claimed by him in his barony, and commissions sat at Newport in 1588 and 1589 to take evidence. Indeed, it seems that the Lord of Kemes was at one time placed under arrest in his own castle of Newport. In the MS. book *Pembrock and Kemes* (see page xxiii, below) it appears that George Owen contended that, as Kemes was no part of the old county of Pembroke, and was not mentioned among the lordships which were added to that county to make up the new shire,[1] his baronial rights were left untouched. But the truth seems to have been that, although the kings of England had been willing to allow that the lords of Kemes, as all others who had won lands in Wales by the sword, held of the Crown *in capite*, the great earldom of Pembroke in time over-shadowed the lordship, which had been founded before the earldom, and the Kemes lords were unable to maintain their independence. According to the author, the first eight earls of Pembroke claimed no rights in Kemes.

The baronial courts for trying actions of slander and for the recovery of small debts were held at College and Eglwys-wrw (presided over by the steward of the barony), and at Newport (presided over by the mayor), until the middle of the last century, when they fell into disuse ; but the boundaries of the lord's waste, containing some 25,000 acres, are still perambulated with much state and ceremony every seven years, and the faithful burgesses of Newport still present to the lord the names of three persons qualified to serve in the office of mayor of that ancient borough, and the one selected by him is duly sworn in before the ensuing Court of Pembrokeshire Quarter Sessions.[2]

'A prince can mak' a belted knight,
A marquis, duke, and a' that,'

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[1] For them see note 2 on p. 213, below.

[2] George Owen filed a bill in the court of the Marches against the burgesses of Newport for not presenting a mayor.

but it is the unique privilege of Sir Marteine Owen Lloyd,[1] the 24th lord of Kemes, to make a mayor.[2]

There is no record of the place of the author's education ; his writings show that he was a man of considerable learning, with no slight acquaintance with ancient authors as well as with the current literature of the day. He probably owed the cultivation of his literary tastes to his father, whom he dutifully enrols among the worthies of Pembrokeshire. He brought his wife to live at Henllys with his father and his mother in 1573, and was in the same year admitted to Barnard's Inn.[3] His father died in the next year, in extreme old age,[4] having transferred to his son, when he attained his majority, Newport Castle and the baronial rights of Kemes.

George Owen was married twice, and was the father of a family—as he had eight children by his first wife, and twelve by the second. His first wife was Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of William Philipps of Picton ; his second wife was, according to a manuscript of the author given by Fenton,[5] Ann, the daughter of John Gwillim, 'a French gentleman of antient descent in Normandy', but according to Lewys Dwnn[6] she was 'Ankred (*i.e.*, Angharad), daughter of William Obiled of Caermarthen, gent.'

[1] The barony remained with the Owens until the death of William Owen in 1721, when it passed through his sister to the Lloyds of Penped Wast (in the parish of Meliney), and in the next generation through another female to the Lloyds of Bronwydd, who still hold it.

[2] The Rev. Evan Jones, rector of the parish and Mayor of Newport (1890), has published a historical sketch of the 'caput baroniæ'—an example of local antiquarian research which it could be wished were more widely followed by the Welsh clergy.

[3] The records of Barnard's Inn, to which I have been permitted access, do not go back to this date.

[4] It is not easy to reconcile the statements as to William Owen's age (see pp. 238-9, below), but with due allowance for the usual exaggeration in such matters, there seems fair reason for believing that he was a centenarian or not far short.

[5] *Pemb.*, page 563.

[6] *Heraldic Visitations*, i, 157. Hel mentions a George Bowen, the son of William Bowen (an illegitimate son of William Owen of Henllys), who married Elizabeth, daughter of Harri Gwilim of Rose Market (in Nevern parish ?). The customs of the lords of Kemes seem to have been patriarchal, as the issue of the *cariad-wragedd* of the author and of his father are thought worthy of mention

Alban Owen, his eldest son (by the first marriage), succeeded his father as Lord of Kemes, and took a prominent part in county affairs during the troubles of the civil war.[1]

George Owen, his eldest son by the second wife, was appointed Rouge Croix in 1626, and York Herald in 1634. He was sent to Wales in 1640 on a mission from the king, and while in his train at Oxford was created a Doctor of Laws by that university in 1643.[2] He was appointed Norroy King at Arms under the Commonwealth in 1658, but at the Restoration resumed his post

in the heraldic *Visitation*. Lewys Dwnn addressed to George Owen in 1591 the following englyn, preserved in Egerton MS. 2586, fo. 302[b], and incorrectly printed and translated in *op. cit.*, *Introd.*, p. xxviii :—

IESUS.

Yn varchog donniog i dunes ; dewr wyd
Dy roi arglwydd y Kemes ;
Dewr wyd i wlad i rrov dy les
Doeth geidwad Duw ath godes.

Of this I have been favoured with the following translation :—'I vowed to place thee as an accomplished knight (brave art thou!), O Lord of Kemes. Brave art thou! To a [? the] country thou givest thy benefit! Wise protector! God hath raised thee up!' (Here *i dunes* has been taken to stand for *y 'ddunais* = *yr eiddunais*; the other possible alternative would be = *y dyunais*. *I rrov* has been taken as *y rhoi* = *y rhoddi*; it might also = *y rhoddaf*. *I wlad* seems to be for *i 'r wlad*. *Iesu* is the motto of the Bardic Chair of Gwynedd or North-west Wales.) The first two lines of this englyn doubtless refer to Lewys Dwnn's mention of George Owen as Lord of Kemes in his *Visitation* of Pembrokeshire. See *op. cit.*, i, 156-7, where the Henllys pedigree, supplied by George Owen himself, is dated 21st Sept. 1591. The allusion to George Owen's 'bravery' probably refers to the tenacity with which he fought for his rights as Lord of Kemes (see pp. ix, x, above).

In the Prothero MSS., v, 86, at the College of Arms, there is a pedigree of the Owens of Henllys by David Edwardes of Rhyd y Gors, near Carmarthen (1677), according to which the author's second wife was Ann, daughter of Gwyllyam Abolett, a tinker of Caermarthen, by whom he had seven children, including the York Herald, 'gott before mariadge', and four (to use an expression known to lawyers) after the legal estate had been got in. Lewys Dwnn says that the author had ten children by his first wife.

[1] In the Phillipps Library at Cheltenham (MS. 13,140, No. 106), there is a collection of the arms of the London City Companies by Alban Owen, with his signature.

[2] Wood's *Fasti Oxon.*, ii, 61.

of York Herald, which he afterwards resigned to his son-in-law and successor, John Wingfield. He died in Pembrokeshire on the 13th May 1665.[1]

Little is known of the author's life. Among the State Papers at the Record Office are reports to the Council by him in his capacity of Deputy Vice-Admiral and Deputy-Lieutenant, and *précis* of enquiries held by him on Admiralty and other matters. He was, notwithstanding his exalted ideas of the privileges of the lords of Kemes, in the confidence of the authorities, and he twice served the office of sheriff of his county, namely, in 1587 and 1602. In his official as well as in his literary work there is abundant evidence of his remarkable industry and business-like attention to details; his penmanship is a model of clearness and neatness. He must have led a busy life, as, beyond his manifold occupations, he found time to examine the records at London, Ludlow, and elsewhere.[2]

[1] Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, lib. xiv, No. 7. George Owen the York Herald has been confounded with George ap Owen ap Harry, commonly called George Owen Harry, the author of *The Genealogy of King James I* and *The Well-springe of True Nobilitie*, who was presented by George Owen (the author) to the living of Whitchurch in Kemes. He signed for Lewys Dwnn in 1597 'George Owen, clerk' (see i, 32-33). In the Lambeth Library (MS. No. 263) is an English translation of Dr. Powel's *Giraldus*, which had then recently been published, by 'George Owen, gentleman, 1602', which I have attributed in a note (p. 164, below) to George Owen Harry, but which was more probably the work of the York Herald. It is inscribed 'To the Right Worship[ll] George Owen Esquier Vice-admirall of the Countyes of Pembroke and Cardigan, one of the Queenes Mat[s]. deputye lieutenantes w[th] in the Countye of Pembroke and one of y[e] Iustices of the Peace of the same Countye', who has copied the dedication in his own hand. The translator says he had had to lay aside the work because of 'the great and troublesome busyness' which fell upon his patron, in which he had to attend him.

[2] Dineley, *Beaufort Progress*, ed. 1888, p. 256, in giving a sketch of the Owen arms, says: 'The Coat Armour above exhibited hath the Field Gules, a Boare Argent, armed grisled collared and chained Or, tyed to an Holly-Bush on a Mount in base both proper, was the paternall coat armor of George Owen Esq[r] deceased a singular lover and industrious collector of Antiquities, as the learned M. Camden writeth,' etc. (see the quotation in note 1 on p. viii, above). These were the arms of Llwch Llawenvawr, Lord of Kilsant in Pembrokeshire in the early part of the 11th century, whose daughter and heiress married Cadivor Vawr, from whom George Owen was descended. (See Lewys Dwnn, i, 156-7.)

In 1608 he transferred the baronial rights to his son Alban, as his father had transferred them to him—whether on account of failing health or because of his difficulties with the Council of the Marches, can only be conjectured. So far as can be ascertained, his later writings relate to the barony of Kemes, and he seems to have laid aside, and never to have been able to resume, his original intention of writing the second book of the *Description of Penbrokshire*, for which, however, he had collected some materials.

The author's principal work, the *Description of Penbrokshire*, was edited for the second volume of the *Cambrian Register* in 1796 by Fenton, who had edited the portion of the work which describes the game of *knappan* for the first volume of the *Register*, which appeared in the previous year. Fenton had obtained possession of various manuscripts of the author, and incorporated a large quantity of them in his *Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire*, which he published in 1810. Many of these manuscripts were purchased from his son, the Rev. Samuel Fenton, by Sir Thomas Phillipps of Middle Hill, in 1858; but it is evident from the allusions in the *Tour* that many of the smaller tracts had then disappeared from the collection, and it is much to be regretted that Fenton did not carry out his intention of publishing them.[1] For this we might well have spared the numerous descriptions of the excellent manner in which he was entertained at the various country houses which he visited, and how they all rose early in the morning, fired with antiquarian zeal, and undermined yet another cromlech.[2]

Fenton published his edition from a copy now in the Phillipps library at Cheltenham[3] (which differs in numberless points of detail

[1] See Fenton's *Pemb.*, p. 403.

[2] But it is only fair to say that, among all this gossip, there is a great deal of valuable local information, of which, as will be seen, I have made frequent use in the following pages. I am also much indebted to Mr. Laws' scientific *History of Little England beyond Wales*, published in 1888.

[3] A volume forming the Phillipps MSS. 14,420, 14,430 and 14,432, now bound together, which is transcribed partly in Fenton's, partly in a contemporary, hand. Lewis' original notes and additions have disappeared, and the

from the original MS.), with notes and additions by John Lewis of Manarnawan (the great-grandfather of the tourist), but felt it his duty to eliminate the personal invective and private anecdotes of families with which Lewis had embellished the work.[1]

Fenton was not a conscientious editor. He sometimes adds to the text, but never anything of value; he frequently omits—omits numerous paragraphs, and even whole chapters.[2] He takes no heed to follow the author's spelling of place-names, or to preserve the many interesting old English words which appear in the book. If he came on a word of the meaning of which he was not certain, he substituted any other which occurred to him as suitable under the circumstances.

The *Description. of Penbrokshire* in this volume is taken from the author's autograph in the British Museum (Harleian MS. 6250).[3] The text of this, as of the works in the Appendix, has been

provenance of Fenton's peculiar text of the work (which was probably copied from a now lost original which belonged to John Lewis) is uncertain. Lewis 'communicated' the work to Edward Lhuyd, who gives what purport to be quotations, but are mere paraphrases, of two passages in it (see note 2 on page 243, and note 5 on page 248, below) in his 'Additions to Pembrokeshire' printed in the first ed. of Gibson's *Camden*, 1695, cols. 635-8.

[1] There is stuck into the Phillipps MS. 13,474 a proposal for publishing a transcription of the original manuscript at the British Museum, made under the superintendence of S. Ayscough, by Joseph Allen of Pembroke, who, as appears from a note among the Bronwydd papers, had, in 1791, entered into indentures with George Willmott for the publication; but Allen required three hundred subscribers, and failed to obtain them.

[2] The principal omissions are the description of the earldom, and the catalogue of the earls of Pembroke, in Chapter II; the whole of Chapters VI and XXIV; the concluding portion of Chapter VI, given on pages 50-53, below; and the list of sheriffs on pages 156-8. The principal additions are given in the notes to pages 167 and 239, below; the second addition is certainly the composition of George Owen.

[3] This MS. was formerly bound with No. 5175 (Daniel King's *Description of Cheshire*). The 18th century copy of Harl. 6250 in the Phillipps MS. 13,474 ('ex Bibliothecâ Pigotianâ de Brockley') begins as follows: 'A MS. history of this county, written by George Owen, esq., is or was lately in the hands of Howel Vaughan, of Hengwrt, esq. There is another among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, No. 6825 fol. beginning "The first book of the description [of] Penbrokeshire in general, 1603",' etc., etc.: here follows a copy of the

carefully collated with the original; and the reader may, with due allowance for the imperfection of all things human, rest content that he has before him in each case an exact and faithful transcript.

Besides the physical description of the county, which the author knew by heart, the work contains much historical matter and information of interest to the student of geology, agriculture, and natural science. The author's historical lore was taken from the works which were then accessible,[1] but which have been corrected on many points by the more scientific historical research of later times. Various errors in his geology have been corrected in some notes kindly contributed to the editor, but the claims of this Pembrokeshire country gentleman to a high position among the pioneers of geological science have been admitted by those geologists who have been acquainted with his writings.[2]

table of the contents of the present work. (The same passage occurs in Gough's *British Topography*, ed. 1768, p. 596, etc., ed. 1780, vol. ii, p. 512, etc., whence it is quoted in Fuller's *Worthies*, ed. 1811, ii, 607; but the Harl. MS. there mentioned is No. 6824.) Harl. 6250 is apparently alluded to, for the present Harl. 6824-5 (see the *Catalogue of the Harl. MSS.*, 1808, iii, 418-420) are MSS. of a totally different description; but Harl. 6823 is one of the volumes of Welsh collections by Hugh Thomas. (See note 1 on page xix, below.) Howel Vaughan (see *Arch. Camb.* for 1860, 3rd Series, vi, 24-5) was the name of the eldest son of Robert Vaughan, of Hengwrt, the joint founder of the Hengwrt collection (who died in 1666). Edward Lhuyd informs us that the Hengwrt collection had been pillaged between Robert Vaughan's death and his own time; but neither in the present Hengwrt collection at Peniarth, nor among the MSS. known to have been lost from the Hengwrt collection, according to the late Mr. Wynne's catalogue, is there any MS. answering to the description, or connected with George Owen; nor does the present Mr. Wynne know of such a MS.

Among the transcripts of Harl. MS. 6250 is one by Bishop Burgess, now in the library of St. David's College, Lampeter.

[1] Especially (for his Welsh history and topography) those very inaccurate works, Powel's *Historie of Cambria*, and a tract printed with it in 1584, Sir John Price and Humphrey Lhwyd's *Description of Wales*. (See the end of note 2 on p. 45, below.)

[2] 'Before the close of that (the 16th) century an Englishman, George Owen of Pembrokeshire, left behind him a very valuable manuscript work on the topography of his native county. In this he has traced with much accuracy the direction and extent of the strata of coal and the limestone which accompanies them through the whole of South Wales, and pointed out the

The first book of the work was completed in 1603; of the second only the ground-plan remains (see pages 283-6, below). The plan was somewhat similar to that adopted by Carew in his *Survey of Cornwall*,[1] published in 1603, who gives a general survey of his county in the first book, and reserves the details of the hundreds and parishes for the second, although George Owen goes more into details in his first book than does his Cornish contemporary. If the author had been able to complete his work, Pembrokeshire would, at that most interesting epoch, have had a county history to which no other county could have shown anything superior, and perhaps nothing equal.

Of the picturesque beauties of his county George Owen tells us little. And yet he had stood upon Cwm Cerwyn, from which, beyond the wild stretches of heather and moorland at his feet, he had seen laid out before him the hills and dales of what another Pembrokeshire man[2] had called the seven fairest cantreds in Wales. Thence he might have pointed out the wooded valleys of the rivers whose courses he traced, each crowned by some castle famous in Pembrokeshire story: Teifi, which, rushing by the rocks of Kilgerran, 'saluteth St. Dogmells as it passeth to the sea'; the sisters Cleddau, one flowing by episcopal Llawhaden, the other by Haverford and Benton to 'lovinglie joyne', and form the 'most

connections of this tract with similar districts in Gloucestershire and Somersetshire. This appears undoubtedly the earliest attempt to establish the important and fundamental geological fact that the same series of rocks succeed each other in a regular order throughout extensive tracts of country, and to elucidate the geological structure thus indicated; but his work, having continued in manuscript till recently published in the second volume of the *Cambrian Register*, remains a striking instance of those anticipations of subsequent discoveries which may often be noticed in the history of science.' Conybeare's *Outlines of Geology* (ed. by Phillips, 1822), Introduction, page xl. See pp. 64-70, below.

'One of the oldest enquirers, we believe, connected with the geology of this ancient region is George Owen of Henllys in Pembrokeshire, who has been called the patriarch of English geologists.' (Article on Sir Roderick Murchison's *Silurian System*, in the *Edinburgh Review* for April 1841, vol. lxxiii, p. 3.)

[1] A second edition came out in 1723, and a third, with Tonkin's notes, in 1811. It is the last which is generally quoted in the foot-notes to this work.

[2] Giraldus Cambrensis; see his works (Rolls ed.), vi, 93.

famouse porte of Christendome", on whose pills are Pembroke, still magnificent in ruin, whence the De Valences issued their behests to the lords of Kemes (who, the author tells us, won their lands when earls of Pembroke were not known), and stately Carew, where Sir Rhys ap Thomas held tilt and tournament in honour of St George. He might have told us of the lesser beauties of the many streams like the Gwayn and the Syvynvy, which pass beneath some hill-fort made by Briton or Norseman, or by the mysterious erections of some earlier age, which bid fair to survive the works of Norman, Saxon, or Fleming. Far away in the distance he could descry on one side the coast of Devon, whence came Martin of the Towers to infuse the strong Norman blood into the Welsh house of Henllys, on another the Wicklow hills, whither the 'men of St. David's' went in Gerald's time to win a new dominion for the Plantagenets, and on another the mountain fastnesses of North Wales, the last home of the old Welsh royal house with whom the lord of Kemes could show kin. And here and there he would have glimpses of the coast all the way from Earwear, by Tenby, 'staied on the sea cliffe', by Manorbier, where the boy Gerald in prophetic guise built churches on the sand, by St. David's, where he sleeps in the Valley beneath Carn Llidi, amid the glorious group of cathedral, palace, and college, by Carn Vawr, the ancient fortress, than the view from whose battlements Wales can show no fairer, and by his own baronial Newport, to Pen Kemes Head—that unequalled coast of cliff and cavern, beaten into a thousand fantastic forms by the mighty Atlantic waves which almost encircle the home of Pembrokeshire men.

The map of Pembrokeshire appended to this work is a facsimile of that which was furnished by the author to Camden, and was first published in the sixth edition of the *Britannia* (in 1607).

Of the works printed in the appendix, *The Description of Wales* was published in the 93rd volume of the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1823, part ii, pp. 16, 108-9, 406-9, 511-4, 597-600). The editor states in a note that he had been 'indulged by a valuable correspondent with the use of an unpublished volume compiled by

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[1] The numbers of the folios given in the Table of Contents have been added in red ink in the MS. The reference to the pages of this book are additions by the Editor.

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20. Of ffaires and markettes vſed yeerelye in Penbrokſhire, *Cap:* 20: *fol:* —— 67. P. 140.

[1] The author afterwards altered this to chapter 20, thereby disarranging this table. It appears from the other copies of this Table of Contents preserved in the *Vairdre Book* (see note 2 on p. 283, below) that this chapter was an afterthought of the author's.

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G. Owen in 1602'; the text he prints is an inaccurate copy of the transcript contained in the Phillipps MS. 6539 (one of the Townsend MSS.), which is itself an inaccurate copy of the original autograph manuscript, taken by Mr. Hugh Thomas of Brecon, the maker of those great collections for the history of Brecknockshire[1] which were so largely utilised by Theophilus Jones in his history of that county.[2]

[1] The rest of Hugh Thomas' collections (chiefly genealogical, and relating to many parts of Wales besides Brecknockshire, and also to English families) are in the Harleian MSS. 2218, 2288-9, 2291, 2299, 2300, 3325, 3538, 4181, 6108, 6823, 6831, and 6870, and in the Rawlinson MS. B. 465. The remainder of Phillipps MS. 6539 comprises various Brecknockshire collections as far as fo. 160, after which are transcripts relating to Devon and Cornwall. Hugh Thomas (who died in 1714) was a correspondent of William Lewis of Llwyn Derw, the owner of at least one of George Owen's MSS. (see note 2 on p. xxvi, below). For Hugh Thomas see Jones' *Brecknockshire*, i, 38, note.

[2] The part of the *Description* which relates to N. Wales was reprinted from the *Gentleman's Magazine* in *Bye-Gones* for 1888 (pp. 75-8), by Mr. R. J. Edwards who subsequently was kind enough to ascertain for Mr. Phillimore the whereabouts and much of the recent history of the original MS., which was left by Richard Gough to the Bodleian Library, where it now is, being numbered 'Gough MS., Wales, No. 3.'

In Gough's *British Topography*, 2nd ed., 1780, ii, 495, this MS. is said to have been in the possession of Mr. Anstis ('Mr. Anstis had a 4to. volume of collections by George Owen, of Henllys, in Pembrokeshire, esq.; 1602, intitled "The number of hundreds, castells, &c., in all the shires of Wales",' etc.: this passage is not in the 1st ed. of the work, published in 1768). John Anstis the elder, of St. Neot's in Cornwall, Garter King-at-Arms, lived from 1669 to 1745, and his son John Anstis from 1708 to 1754. The heir to the latter was his brother George Anstis, vicar of Colyton in Devonshire, who died in 1758. The library collected by these three Anstis' and a fourth, Henry Anstis (D.C.L., 1746), of Ball. Coll., Oxford, was sold in 1774 or 1775, by Mr. Edward Score of Exeter (Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, ed. 1812-5, iii, 686; viii, 473). There had, however, previously been a sale of the elder 'Mr. Anstis' Library of MSS.' in 1768 (*op. cit.*, v, 270), some of which, then bought by Thomas Astle, are now in the Stowe Collection in the British Museum.

We find from a marginal note on a fly-leaf of the MS., printed in a note at the beginning of the *Description of Wales* (see the *Appendix*), that the MS. volume now containing the *Description* was lent in 1772 to the then Bodleian Librarian, for transcription, by one 'G. S.', presumably the owner. It finally got into the collection of Gough, who died in 1809, and bequeathed his British topographical collections and some other books and MSS. to the Bodleian Library. The rest of his library was sold in April 1810 (cf. note 1 on p. xxv, below).

The fragment entitled *A Cataloge and Genelogie of the Lordes of the Baronye of Kemes* was accidentally found by Mr. Phillimore in 1885 in the Bodleian Library (Rawlinson MS. B. 469). It is in the author's own hand, but his original copy, which is neat enough, is extensively corrected and added to by him in various rough hands. The Rawlinson collection, in which this fragment is, was bequeathed to the Bodleian Library in 1755. The MS. forms one of six consecutively numbered MSS. (B. 464-9) relating to Wales, at least two (and perhaps all) of which once belonged to the celebrated Edward Lhuyd, who was a friend and correspondent of John Lewis of Manarnawan (see Gibson's *Camden*, 1695, col. 636, and *Camb. Register*, ii, 211), and may have received from him this fragment of George Owen's work.[1]

The *Breiffe Discription of the saied Baronye* which the author intended to add may be the account of the limits and divisions published from the Bronwydd MSS. at pages 134-5 of the *Baronia.* The old divisions of the barony are also given in the book *Pembrock and Kemes* (see p. xxiii, below).

The above fragment was evidently intended as a preface to the then contemplated work, the *Lordes of Kemes*, which I found in the author's hand, most carefully got up, in a manuscript

[1] Rawl. B. 467 is a volume of 15th century fragments of the *Meddygon Myddfai*, given to Edward Lhuyd by T. Thomas, of Cwr y Waun, Llangadock, in 1698. Rawl. B. 464 is one of two existing autograph copies of Edward Lhuyd's so-called *Itinerary*, containing mainly statistical accounts of a number of parishes in N. Wales. Rawl. B. 466 belonged to David Lloyd, of Blaen Ial and Blaen y Ddol (near Corwen), in 1620-32, who bought the lands of Blaen y Ddol in 1630, and built a house there in 1632. Now it was John Lloyd of Blaen y Ddol and Aber Llefeni who, in about 1701, presented Edward Lhuyd with the four volumes of parchment Welsh MSS. known as the *Didrefnyn* or *Didrefn Gasgliad*, which now form MSS. '113. C. 18-21' in the collection of the Earl of Macclesfield, at Shirburn Castle, Oxon. (cf. *Arch. Britannica*, p. 254, cols. 1-2; and for Lhuyd's letters to the Lloyds of Blaen y Ddol, see *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, iv, 232; vi, 19; vii, 135). Rawl. B. 468 contains parochial accounts of a few Cardiganshire parishes, apparently made by direction of Edward Lhuyd, and B. 465 is one of Hugh Thomas' MS. volumes of collections for the history of Brecknockshire, this and the Townsend MS. 6539 in the Phillipps Library being the only known volumes of his collections outside the Harleian MSS. (See note 1 on p. xix, above.)

book[1] at Bronwydd, which has most kindly been placed at my disposal by Sir Marteine Lloyd. Besides much information of local interest, it gives a history of the lords of Kemes from Nicholas Martin, who died in 1284, to James Lord Audley, who was killed in 1460.

The Description of Milford Havon was written in 1595.[2] The author had taken great interest in trying to induce the Government to fortify the Haven, and a paper evidently drawn up by him was addressed to the Council the same year.

In 1598 he drew up a memorandum of the places fit to be fortified. The Spanish terror had not yet passed, for, although the Armada had been destroyed ten years before, Penzance had been taken by the Spaniards in 1595; but the only results of the author's labours were the unfinished block-houses at Dale and Angle. There is an autograph copy of this treatise in the Phillipps Library[3] (MS. No. 14,445), and a copy (made early in the 17th century) in the British Museum (Add. MS. 22,623), attributed in the catalogue to George 'Davies', which has been altered to

[1] The *Vairdre Book*, so called from the residence of a former owner (in the parish of Llandyssil); see note 1 on page xxvi, below. The extracts given in note 7 on p. 271 and on pp. 283-6, and those alluded to in note 2 on p. 136 and note 1 on p. 195, below, are from this MS.

[2] There is attached to the British Museum copy a short tract dated 1750, with the name at the foot of John Clarke, of Copson (Copston) Magna, Warwickshire, entitled 'Reasons to prove the Necessitie of Fortifieing at Milford Haven'.

[3] This MS. has the following inscription by Fenton:—'Ex dono Hen: Penruddock Wyndham Armi, Novr 1806 Rd Fenton' (see Fenton's *Pemb.*, p. 403). This Wyndham, of The College, Sarum, M.P. for Wilts, who died in 1819, was the author of *A Gentleman's Tour through Monmouthshire and Wales, in the months of June and July* 1774 (London, 1775, 8vo.), which was re-issued with the addition of another Welsh tour 'in the months of June, July, and August, 1777', at Salisbury, in 1781 (4to.). The 2nd ed. was summarized in the 1st vol. (p. 329) of Mavor's *British Tourist's Companion* (London, 1809, 8vo.). In the 1781 ed., p. 70, he mentions the MS. Description of Milford Haven, by George Owen, as being in his possession; the passage is not in the 1st ed. (see p. 82). Some of the books, etc., collected by Mr. Wyndham were sold as part of the library of his son, Mr. Wadham Wyndham (of The College, Sarum, M.P., who died in 1843), at Sotheby's, on April 8-12, 1872. No. 1,693 of the Catalogue is described as 'Henry Penruddocke Wynd-

'Purefoy', but in the manuscript the original name 'Owen' can be traced with a glass.[1]

After the meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association at Cardigan, in 1859, had drawn attention to the unique position of the lordship of Kemes and to the historian of the barony, some of the most important of the author's manuscripts remaining at Bronwydd were published by that Society in a separate volume, issued in 1861-2, and intituled *Baronia de Kemeys*, besides a few short pieces, which appear in their journal, the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.[2] This volume, the *Baronia de Kemes*,[3] is an interesting treatise on Lordships Marcher in general and on that of Kemes in particular, and contains *Prooffes that Kemes is an Aunciente Lordshippe Marcher*, apparently written to confute the sceptics at Ludlow, and other shorter tracts. To these are added various charters and documents relating to the barony, taken from the 'Register Book of Kemes', in which they had been copied by George Owen (or rather under his direction), in order that the originals, many of which are still at Bronwydd, should not be damaged by frequent reference[4]; and also the proceedings

ham's Collections for a History of Wales, autograph MS., with Speed's maps of the counties of Wales inserted'.

The beginning of Phillipps MS. 14,445 is also inscribed with the name of 'K. Kebl. . Coll: Reg: Cant.' The two letters after the *l* of the name look like *ez*. There was a Richard Keble, of Queen's College, Cambridge, B.A. 1734 (see *Graduati Cantabrigienses*, 1823).

[1] The Add. MS. (which was acquired by the Museum in 1858 from C. T. Skeet), is not copied from the Phillipps MS., for the former MS. sometimes supplies words necessary to the sense and grammar which have been inadvertently left out of the latter MS. by the author. Probably the Add. MS. is transcribed from the duplicate copy which the author supplied to the Government, which cannot now be traced, while the Phillipps MS. is the copy he kept for his own use. In the Add. MS. the orthography is largely modernised.

[2] The following are the pieces referred to: On the *Fortifying of Milford Haven*, 3rd Series, vol. viii (1862), pp. 14-8 (cf. 235-6); on the *Lordships of Wales*, *ib.*, 226-7; on *Kemes: Decay of Castles*, etc., vol. xiii (1867), pp. 132-5.

[3] The author spells the name so, not *Kemeys*, which is the Middle-Welsh form.

[4] Seven of these charters, with George Owen's notes, were published in 1841 by Sir Thomas Phillipps (*Typis Mediomontanis*, *i.e.*, at the Middle Hill Press) under the title of 'Cartae Baroniae de Kemes ex MSS. Georgii de Carewe arm. de Crowcombe in Com. Somerset.'

(taken from the Record Office) in the suit against Nicholas, the last Lord Audley and Martin (*temp.* Richard II), mentioned at page 25, below.

The author left behind a considerable quantity of short treatises, which have become scattered among various libraries, and some of which appear to be lost.[1]

There is in the editor's possession a book in the author's hand-writing, entitled *Pembrock and Kemes.* The author explains that it is 'so called for that in this Booke there are conteyned diuerse notes touchinge the Auncient and Moderne state of both these Seigniories, and diuerse other matters touchinge the same Lordshippes'. In it, besides essays to prove the author's favourite theses that the old county of Pembroke was part of the realm of England, and not of the Principality of Wales, and that Kemes was no part of that county, are notes on the foundation of St. Dogmell's, on the Flemings in Pembrokeshire, and on the meaning of the word 'dominus' in ancient writings; lists of the old divisions of Kemes, Pembrokeshire, and Carmarthenshire, and an

[1] In the British Museum the Harleian MS. 6068, which is inscribed in the beginning 'Geo: Owen of Henllys in Kemes in Penbrockshere', contains extracts, perhaps written by the author, from the Carnarvon and other records and charters, a treatise on the ordering of an army, some instructions of Henry VIII for the counsellors attendant upon the Princess Mary to Ludlow, etc., and some Glamorganshire pedigrees. Egerton MS. 2586 consists of two distinct volumes bound together, both of them from Henllys. The first contains pedigrees of North Wales and Radnorshire, the englyn of Lewys Dwnn quoted in note 6 on p. xi, above, etc., and is mostly in the author's hand. These have been printed (at least in part) in Lewys Dwnn's *Heraldic Visitations of Wales* (see *Introduction*, pp. xxviii-ix, vol. i, p. 249, and vol. ii, p. 293, in the last of which passages our George Owen is erroneously identified with George Owen the York Herald, for whom see p. xii, above). The second volume contains the tale of Cuhelyn Fardd and other short Welsh tales (all in Welsh), and a variety of Pembrokeshire pedigrees, and is written in different hands, the pedigrees being often dated; one for instance (fo. 413^{b}) is written 'per Johnnem' Battman de Llanllaw hane [Llanllawer, anciently Llanllawarn?] apud Henllys x^{o} Aprilis 1602'. The Egerton MSS. 2585-7 were purchased on Dec. 10, 1881, by the British Museum from H. Madocks, Esq., of Glan y Wern in Denbighshire. No. 2585 is in Lewys Dwnn's autograph; it belonged in 1748 to Mr. Griffith Davies of Harwich, but in 1825 to Mr. John Madocks, of Fron Iw.

account of the manner in which the earldom of Pembroke and the lordships of Haverford and Kilgerran came to Henry VIII. There is also some valuable information as to the 'tallage for the redemption of the Greate Sessions in ould tyme within the countey of Pembroke', levied by the justices itinerant in the county (among whom are named the Bishop of St. David's, the abbots of Alba Landa, Talley, and St. Dogmell's, John Wogan, and William Owen), taken from the records of the Sessions in 1528, and from 'the auncient booke of receipt of Pembrokeshire of my father, William Owen', of the year 1527.[1]

In the Phillipps Library are transcripts of the *Descriptions of Pembrokeshire* and *Milford Haven*, collections of pedigrees (attributed to our author) relating to Pembrokeshire, Brecknockshire, and Wales (the latter beginning with Adam), and the treatise on marl.[2]

[1] The author states that the county was wont to pay £200 for the redemption of the sessions (so that they should be held only once in three years) and for the pardoning of all offences, and that the payment grew to be a settled yearly rent. The assessments on various knight's fees are given (Dewisland, Llawhaden, Narberth, and Kilgerran were exempt), and it appears that the tax was collected by freeholders of position, among whom some females are mentioned. By the 34 and 35 Hen. VIII, cap. 26, s. 110, 'The king's majesty of his most gracious goodness & liberality' remitted the fines for redemption of sessions 'at the humble suit of his loving subjects of his dominion of Wales'.

[2] There is a copy of this in the *Vairdre Book* at Bronwydd, 'written out of a copy in his own hand, by me, John Owen of Berllan, 1684'. The treatise was finished on the 12th November (*in diem Sti. Machuti, i.e.*, St. Malo's Day), 1599, and is divided into twelve chapters:—1. What marl is, and of what the same consisteth, and of the original cause thereof, according to the opinions of the ancient writers, and most probable reasons. 2. How many sorts of marl there is. 3. Of the antiquity of marling, and when first used. 4. Where, and in what places and countries, the same is to be found. 5. How to find out marl, and the most certain tokens and signs to find out the same. 6. How to know marl when it is digged and found. 7. Which is accounted the best marl. 8. When, and at what time, it is best season to cast marl on the land. 9. How the marl is to be digged, and how the same is to be spread and laid on the land. 10. What is the operation of marl, and of the profit and goodness it bringeth to the land. 11. With what land the marl best agrees and most profits. 12. For what the marl is noisome and prejudicial. Fuller, *Worthies of England* (ed. 1840), iii, 557, *s.v. Pembrokeshire*, says: 'I know not what better to wish this country than that the marl, a great fertilizer of barren ground, which it affordeth, may be daily increased.'

One of the most interesting things in the collection is a copy, in Fenton's hand (Phillipps MS. 14,427, one of the Fenton MSS.), of George Owen's common-place book, called the *Taylor's Cushion.*[1] It begins with an explanation of the title (the original orthography is not preserved) :—

'The Taylor's Cushion made of shreds
Of divers pieces hath a patch,
So he that all this volume reads
Of divers things shall find a snatch.
Then this book of others all,
The Taylor's Cushion do I call.'

Besides some later tracts which appear elsewhere, the principal contents are : A petition to the 'Queen's Majesty's Council in the marches of Wales' for a commission to redress abuses in the stealing, maiming and killing sheep in Pembrokeshire, and the Queen's Commission thereupon, dated Ludlow 1593 ; 'Inquisitio de episcop. Meneven. capta anno quarto reg. Edw. VI' ; the names of the castles in the counties of Pembroke, Cardigan, Glamorgan, and Brecknock ; a list of the freeholders and householders in the several parishes in every hundred in the county of Pembroke, collected from the books of the sheriff's tourn, 1587 ; the names of the manors in every hundred in the county, with the names of the owners of most of them, collected in 1588 ; a brief of the chiefest forces of men and arms in the county, 'as is found by the muster books taken in March 1588' ; the number of people, householders, ploughs, dairies, and carriages in every parish and hundred in the county, 'as appeareth by the books of general muster taken May 1599' ; lists of the Lords President of the Council of the Marches to 1600, and of the Justices of Chester to the same year ; the prices of various articles in the county in 1593,[2] and a long and interesting paper

[1] This is the 'curious little volume' mentioned in the list of books at the end of vol. 18 of Rees' *Beauties of England and Wales*, 1815 (under the heading 'South Wales', *sub fine*). It is there said to have been purchased by Mr. Richard Heber at the sale of the Gough MSS. Several of Heber's MSS. were bought by Sir Thomas Phillipps. No older MS. of the *Taylor's Cushion* is known to exist.

[2] From this it appears that cheese cost 5*s.* a stone, butter 5*s.* a gallon (?), wool 13*s.* 4*d.* a stone, a calf 5*s.*, a lamb 1*s.* 6*d.*, a goose 6*d.*, a duck 2*d.*, a colt one

giving reasons why the lordships taken from Pembrokeshire (see pages 5 and 225, below) should be restored "as of ancient time."

In the muniment room at Bronwydd, in addition to the deeds and court rolls of the barony from the earliest times and to the manuscripts before mentioned, many memorials of the wonderful industry of the author are still left. Among them are (in the *Vairdre Book*) an elaborate and detailed account of the barony, entitled 'Extentum totius Baroniæ de Kemes 1594';[1] a list of the ecclesiastical benefices in the county, divided into deaneries, with the names of the patrons, collected in 1594; the surveys of the manors of Ambleston and Rinaston, made on the attainder of Sir John Perrott, and a list of Drake's ships in the Armada year, with the names of the captains and the numbers of the crews.[2]

I have now the pleasing duty of acknowledging the assistance which has been rendered to me in editing this volume. I am aware that it has been doubted how far a man whose time is occupied by other matters should take up literature as a pastime for his leisure hours. But I am happy in this work to have had at my hand a 'philosopher and friend' who (as the translator of Giraldus, whom

year old £1, a colt three years old £3. Wages were per annum: to a 'man and his wife to take care of the farm' £2 6*s.* 8*d.*, to a second ploughman 13*s.* 4*d.*, to a ploughboy 8*s.* 4*d.*, and to a 'labouring maid' 12*s.*

[1] This has in the initial letter the similitude of Actæon and his hounds, with the legend *Actæon ego sum, dominum cognoscite vestrum*, a gentle intimation of the masterful character of the lord of the barony. As to the *Vairdre Book*, mentioned in note 1 on p. xxi, above, see Fenton's note in the *Cambrian Register*, ii, 81.

[2] To Browne Willis' *Survey of the Cathedral Church of St. David's and the edifices belonging to it, as they stood in the year 1715*, are added some 'memoirs' relating thereto and to the country adjacent, from 'a MS. written in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign'. These 'memoirs' are given in the form of a letter to Browne Willis in 1716 by an anonymous correspondent (who signs himself M. N., and was thought by Gough, *British Topography*, ed. 1780, ii, 515, to be Dr. Wotton), being a summary of a manuscript which was stated by a former owner (William Lewis of Llwyn Derw, Carmarthenshire) to have been written by George Owen, Lord of Kemes. The manuscript gives a description (1) of St. David's and the neighbourhood, and (2) of the coats of arms in the cathedral, the second part being annotated by William Lewis. So far as can be judged from the summary, there is little doubt that the manuscript was the work of George Owen of Henllys, and written after the *Description of Penbrokshire*,

I have before referred to,[1] says in his dedication to George Owen) 'would by perusall correct the errata and by his good experience reforme such things as my simplycitie did misunderstand'. Mr. Phillimore, the editor of *Y Cymmrodor*, has taken a kindly interest in my book, and has allowed me to submit the sheets to him as they issued from the press. He has also contributed the notes to which his initials are appended, upon subjects as to which his careful scholarship and profound knowledge of Welsh lore entitle him to speak *ex cathedrâ*. For any errors which may be found in the general body of the notes Mr. Phillimore has no responsibility.

The proofs of the *Description of Penbrokshire* and of the *Description of Milford Havon* have been collated with the MSS. by another Welsh scholar, Mr. Lleufer Thomas of Lincoln's Inn, to whom I am otherwise much beholden; those of the *Lordes of Kemes* by Mr. W. H. Stevenson; and those of the *Description of Wales* and of the *Kemes* fragment by Mr. Phillimore. I am also indebted, for assistance given in various ways, to Professor John Rhys of Oxford, who has also contributed to the notes, Professor H. G. Seeley, Canon Silvan Evans, Mr. A. S. Gatty (*York Herald*), Mr. Arthur Roberts of the Record Office, Mr. R. J. Edwards, Mr. A. N. Palmer of Wrexham, the Rev. Evan Jones, B.D., Mr. Vincent Evans, and to a local antiquarian, Mr. Thomas L. James, the editor of the *Pembrokeshire Herald*.

The Lord and Lady of Kemes I have to thank for having placed at my disposal with bountiful liberality the invaluable archives and the traditional hospitalities of Bronwydd; Mr. Fenwick, the owner of the Phillipps Library, for much courteous assistance in my researches at that store-house of interesting records of Wales, and especially of Pembrokeshire; and His Honour Judge Owen for the loan of the map from which that attached to this volume has been copied.

I have undertaken this work in order to initiate the series of publications of manuscripts relating to Wales, which has been

[1] See note 1 on page xiii, above.

undertaken by the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion. A similar series has been before projected with much Welsh enthusiasm, but, like some other Welsh enterprises, has lacked Saxon perseverance in the performance. I trust that this series will be long continued, either by the Society as a body or (as this number has been produced) by the effort of some individual member. There are numerous Welsh manuscripts scattered up and down the land whose publication would be of value and interest, and might tend to divert the lately revived national feeling away from the wearisome wrangles of the hustings and the pulpit to the more reasonable study of the national history and literature.

This the first number of the Cymmrodorion Record Series will, I hope, be not without interest to all Welshmen, and indeed to all students of history. But its chief interest will, I am conscious, be for anyone who has the fortune to be, like the author and the editor, *a Penbrokshire man born.*

HENRY OWEN.

December 26th, 1891.

PENBROK
Comitatus olim
Pars
DEMETARVM

MARE HIBERNICVM SIVE VERGIVIVM MARE SABRINA

CARDIGAN PARS

CARMARTHEN PARS

Penkemes point
Cardigan
Dogmaels
Hendref
Parkyprat
Bridell
Kilgarren
Kilwarys
Mauerchwy
Tivior flu.
Rydyrymlade
Lanuangel pompeda
Dubois flus
Keogh flu.
Lanteed
Treprysk
Moisgrove
KEMEIS
St Dogmaels
KILGARRAN
Langolman
Clydey Eyrus
Penrith
HV
Kilredyn
Ricardston
Irelhyffeun
Bayvull
Penkelley
St Metgans
Glastir
Dudoc flu.
Dubois flus
Heullys
Kilgerow
Castilhan
Nantgwyn
Vrenny
Nawr
hill
Dynas head
Coingwain
Anbrys flu.
Whitchurch
Banon flu.
Strumble heade
Pencaer point
Dynas
Newcarn
Newporte
Pentrefeuan
Kilgwyn
Lanurynagh
Faue flu.
the Coive of the east
Brynhenllan
Lanumda
Mithengellchap
HV
Carhengh
Lanthawarn
Gwaun flus
Manernawen
Kelfs flu.
Fishgard
Kelvechthed
Pontuocn
Vogwrgoen
Menaghlwyddelly
Clydagh flu.
Percele hill
Langolman
Landilo
Egglesuair a Chirck
Lanwinus
St Nicholas
St Katherins
Lanstinan
Lanychaith
Iwala flu.
Iurdanston
Treckone
Marnull
Harrismotte
Marthry
Marlais flu.
Lamarnantygoue
Ponchariston
Culbeth flu.
Letterston
Treuine
Porthskilly wood
Castlebigh
Newgastle
Cleithcwen flu.
St Dogwells
Mote
Maendodhogg
Bryttan wen flu.
Langludwen
Lanheidy
Laurian
Larithon
St Edryns
Selyham
Rinerston
Lysyuran
Lanykeuen
Blethertston
Kilymaenlhoid
Henlhanamgoed
Taue flu.
DEWISLAND
Landeloy
Hatteastle
Macsyfcal
Ambleston
Spitle
Walton
Clarbeston
Lansilio
Langan
Whitland
Lanewel
HV
Brometon
Teygarn
DYNGLEDY
Wiston
Lauhaden
Egremont
Castelcram
Lanudlegg
Landewyvelfel
Goryd chapr
Ricardeston
Plumston
Rock
Marlais flu.
Eglwysfuair
Lanchfrwg
Browdys
Roth caſtle
Camros
Rulbaxton
Roberton wathan
Narberth
Crynwy
Lanfederuelfrye
Whitchurch
St Ailwys
Saint Dauids
St Dauids head
Porth mawr
the sound
Stepherg
Cronwer
HV
Prengarth
Mynuver
Munston
Templeton
Ludchurch
Amroth
Marres
Symston
ROWSE
Treuran
Picton
NARBERTH
Erweare
Cocdraeth
Nolton
Osmeston
Marteltwy
Couston
Ramsey
Porthclaſe
Lamston
Hauerfordwest
Boulston
Harrestonwest
Harolston
Festrop
Varberton
Begely
OCTOPITARVM Promontorium
The horse
The Chanters Iland
Broad hauon
Denuant
Roedkenles
Laurenny
Pifrisston
Williamston chap:
St Issells
Walsonforest
Langam
Benton caſt:
Sadbury
Walwynscarft
Rosmarkett
Williamston park
Redbart
HV
Tenbye
St Katherins
Talkenny
Rebeſtonwest
Milton
Burton
Vpton
Carew
Athridge
Sike
Hotton
Priory Pill
Steynton
Hayburch
Castleton
Gumfreston
Hasgard
St Brides
Sandyba
Pill
Landstadwell
Naſſe
Saint Florens
Tirelhom
Penalwe
Harbenston
Hubberston
Newton
PENBROCH
Paterchurch
Nordhard
Mulscwick
HV
Lansey
MARTIN
Ludsopy
Yardlandstone
Wiſtock
Marlos
St Ismaels
Bilton
Mimeston
St Daniels
Alcston
Lawston
Manchester
Little Caldy
Scalmey
Midlan Iland
SYLIMNOS Insula
The Stack
Popton
Polherochon
Hodgeston
Caldey Insul
Dale
Gatholme
Rytrythor
Henllon
Porthelyw
Nangle
Newton
Kilpaſton
Kuricleton
Penrocke
Lewent
Freshwater caſt
Wallys Iland
Skookholme
St Annes head
Freshwater west
Shipp Iland
Lynny point
The Crowe
Caſtle martin
Worran
Merion
Stacpoole
Stackpole
Tropricarde
Lynny house
South Carew
Boſheston
St Gowen
Elymſton
Goucus point
Scala Milliarium
1 2 3 4 5
Georgius Owen D Kemeis deſcripſit
Wilhelmus Kip ſculpſit

The First Booke of the

description of Penbrookshire in generall

1603.

The Contentes of the ſeuerall Chapters of this Booke appeereth in the next leafe

Of the Scituation forme and quantitie of Pembrokeshire with the longitude and latitude of the same, and of the ayre of the Countrey, Capi primum.

5 Penbrokeshere is scated in the furthest parte of Southwales, and most westerlye corner of the same, opposite against the Townes of Waterford and Wexsforde in Irelande, The Citie of St Dauides standeth in the westerly and vttermost promontorye therof and the Citie of London stand West and bi North, and east and bi South) eth, of other Distante 188 myles: from the Citie of Yorke yt standeth South Southwest distante from yt 186 myles; and from the garison towne of Barwycke Southwest and bi South distant from yt 250 myles: ffrom the ile of Wright two pointes of the compasse west of the South, which is South, South west and distant from it 160 myles: and from the Landes ende of England East and bi North distant from it 100 wantinge fyve myles, and from the ile of Lond ye west and bi North distante from yt 45 myles /

Reduced Fac-simile of George Owen's Writing.

See opposite page.

BAYERISCHE
STAATS-
BIBLIOTHEK
MUENCHEN

Of the Scituation *forme and quantitie* Folio 4a, anc. 1a.
of Pembrokſhire with the longitude and latitude of the ſame, and of the ayre of the Countrey, Cap: primum.

Penbrokeſhere is ſeated in the furtheſt parte of South wales, and moſt weſterlye corner of the ſame, oppoſite againſt the townes of Waterford, and Weyſforde in Irelande. The Cittie of St. Dauides (ſtandinge in the weſterly and vttermoſt promontorye there of) and the Cittie of London ſtand weſt and be North, and eaſt and be ſouth, ech of other diſtante 188 myles; from the Cittie of Yorke yt ſtandeth *South Southwest* diſtante from yt 186 myles; and from the gariſon towne of Barwycke,[1] *Southwest and be ſouth* diſtant from yt 250 myles, ffrom the Ile of Weight two pointes of the compaſſe weſt of the South, which is, Southe, Southweſt, and diſtant from it 160 myles: and from the Landes ende of England Eaſt and be North diſtant from it 100 wantinge fyve myles, and from the Ile of Londye weſt and be North diſtante from yt 45 myles./

Longitude. The Center or middle of the ſame Shere which I limytt to be aboute *Heythock moore*[2] is in longitude 17 degrees, and 20 minuttes weſt of the Canarian Ilandes, and hath the North pole elevated above our *horizon* on 52 degrees w*hi*ch is 40 mynuttes higher then that of the Cittie of London, after the Accompte of thoſe that Calculate 51 degrees and 20 mynuttes for London; ſoe that our longeſt daies ſhould by that Accompte exceede thoſe at London by xiii mynuttes, and thereby our longeſt ſommers daies muſt be of xvii houres, and fortie three mynuttes longe, and the ſhorteſt night vi houres xvii[eene] mynuttes longe. This much touchinge the Scituation of Pembrokeſhire ſhall briefely ſuffice/./

Eleuation of the Pole.

Length of the daie and night.

The forme of the Sheere. As touchinge the forme and faſhion thereof by the Topographicall diſcripc*i*on yt is neyther perfect square longe nor rounde but ſhaped with diverſe Corners, ſome ſharpe, ſome obtuſe, in ſome places concave in ſome convexe, but in moſt places concave and bendinge inwarde, as doth the Moone in her decreaſeinge, as where the ſea thruſteth yt ſelfe in betweene, Millforde and St. Dauides

[1] Berwick-on-Tweed.

[2] In the parish of Spittal.

Fo. 4b, anc. 1b. head,†[1] makeinge a greate and lardge baye, and againe towardes the lande warde from Kilredyn to *Cronwere* betweene two w*hi*ch places *Carmarthen ſhire* hath thruſt yt ſelfe in almoſt to the harte of this ſhire, where at *Egermonte*, yt cometh within a mile of *Lawhaden* beinge accompted a place neere the middeſt of Pembroke ſhire, were it not the encrochmente by *Carmarthen ſhire* in that place, ſoe hath the ſame diuerse other Inboweinge places as betweene *Ludſopp*[2] and *St. Govens pointe*, where the ſea occupieth a greate Inlett, and in other partes rounde aboute the ſhere, where the ſea doth the like, dealeinge ſoe vnkindely with this poore Countrey as that it doth not in anye where ſeeme to yeld to the lande in anye parte, but in everye corner thereof eateth vpp parte of the mayne,* by these concavities in the Countreys circumferens it moſt conſequentlye followe, that the ſhere muſt be but litle, much leſſe then other ſheres, w*hi*ch ſeeme leſſe in vywe & w*hi*ch have theire extreame partes extended outwarde w*i*thout anye ſuch ſtraitninges, or partes worne thereof by ſea and encroched by land/./.

* Originally 'lande'.

The Shire but litle and whie

Thus much I haue ſaied, for that I haue harde *Pembrok ſhere* accompted of thoſe that knewe it not, to be a greate riche and welthie Countrey, as thoughe the ſhere were greate lardge, and well peopled, w*hi*ch indeede is cleene contrarye, for that it cannot be eyther ſtored with wealthe, beinge but ſmall, haveinge in it naturallye much baren lande, excepte it be forced to proffitte, and on of the leaſt ſheres in Wales, neyther can it be well peopled, for manye cauſes, as ſhalbe declared, hereafter ; This reporte of that ſhere (grounded I knowe not upon what uncertaine foundac*i*on) hath of late yeeres ben the occaſion (as is thoughte) to over burden the ſame towardes her ma*ieſ*ties ſervices, ffor that it hath ben chardged with greater nombers of men, then ſome other ſheres in *Wales* of farre more lardgnes, and better peopled, and here I doe thinke good this occaſion beinge offred here to ſpeake of the quantitie of the ſhere, to menc*i*on of one other cauſe w*hi*ch hath ben thought to have ben another occaſion of the over chardginge of this ſhere, towardes theſe and other of her ma*jeſtie*s ſervices, w*hi*ch is the printed Mappes of the ſheeres made & publiſhed by Mr. *Chriſtopher Saxton*[3], w*hi*ch Mappes are vſuall† with all Noblemen and gentlemen, and daiely pervſed by them for theire better Inſtruction of the eſtate of this Realme, eſpeciallye touchinge the quantitie, ſcituac*i*on, forme and ſpeciall places of note of all the ſheeres of this Realme,

The Shire ouercharged.

Fo. 5a, anc. 2a.

[1] Except when it begins a chapter the first word of each folio of the MS. is marked by a †.

[2] Lydstep, near Tenby.

[3] Saxton's maps were published in 1575.

by w*hi*ch Mappes if they be vywed onlye ſuperficiallie, without haueinge anye other regarde, *Pembrokſhere* ſeemeth to be on of the biggeſt and lardgeſt ſheres of *Wales*, haveinge the rome and place of a whole ſheete of paper allowed to it ſelfe, as thoughe it were to lardge to be ioyned with an other ſheere, whereas all the reſt of the xii ſheres of Wales are placed, 2 at the leaſt, and ſome tymes foure together in the like quantitie of paper, (*Glamorgan* excepted) eche of them haveinge theire proper ſcales of x^en^ miles, but (w*hi*ch maye be the greateſt inducement of this error of all) he hath coched[1] together in on Mappe or ſheete of paper, the ſheres of *Cardigan*, *Carmarthen*, *Brecknock*, and *Radnor*, and geven those iiii^or^ ſheres noe more rome then *Pembrokſhire* it ſelfe hath, and for that it maye ſeeme to thoſe that are not ſkillfull in Coſmographie, but Iudge onlye by the quantitie of the Mappes, that eu*er*ye ſhere is of biggnes as the ſame appeareth to the vywe, whereby *Pembrokſhere* must of neceſſitie be iudged to be equall in biggnes to anye two of the laſt recited foure ſheres, whereas (in deede and truthe) yt is, and I will if occaſion be given, prove, and make it manyfeſt, that the leaſt of three of theſe four ſheeres, is* lardger and containeth more grounde then *Pembrokſhere* doth, and that by noe ſmall quantitie./

Whie Pembrockshere Mappe semeth bigger then the rest of Wales.

* Originally 'are'.

And to vnfold the hidden error thereof, and to the ende that thoſe that will, maye iudge and finde, my ſaieinges to be true, I will (as well to cleere Mr. *Saxton* from anye fault eyther in Arte or ill meaneinge herein) as alſoe to make *Pembrokſhere* appeare in his true quantitie, crave pardon of the gentle reader to open vnto him (I meane thoſe that eyther for wante of ſkill knowe not, or w*hi*ch for ſavinge paines will not ſpend tyme to knowe it,) for to other ſkillfull and induſtriouſe parſons, I make noe doubt but the ſame is allreadye well vnderſtoode, The meanes to knowe and ſoe the ſame is Dilligentlye to marke the difference of the ſcale of bothe Mappes, for Mr. *Saxton* beguideinge his painefull & comendable labour† of the diſcripc*i*on of this Realme of *Englande*, and ſoe comeinge throwe Wales, paſſed firſt the Vpland ſheeres, and therein haveinge ioyned together the ſheeres of *Merioneth* and *Mountgomery*, *Angleſey* and *Carnarvon*, *Denbighe* and *Flynt* in three ſeu*er*all Mappes, comeinge further he Ioyned in on Mappe and ſheete of paper the greate ſheeres of *Carmarthen*, *Cardigan*, *Brecknock* and *Radnor*, by reaſon whereof he was forced to wringe them ſoe neere together thruſtinge on Townredd[2] vpon an other, that he was forced to make the ſcale ſhorter almoſt by halfe of that of *Pembrokſhere*; But when he came to *Pembrokſhere* beinge next the ſea, and

The meanes howe to finde truelie the quantitie of the Shere by the Mappes.

† Fo. 5b, anc. 2b.

[1] *Couch*, 'set down.'

[2] Homestead.

findeinge non other ſhere to Ioyne with it, he was forced to make a Mappe for that ſheere alone, and then he gave a lardge ſpace to that ſhere, and placed eu*er*y Townredd farre of, from other in diſtance, as maye appeare by the Mappe thereof, ſoe that he made that Mappe in vywe as lardge, as that of the other laſt foure ſheeres, and nowe if yo^{w} will Iudge rightlye to knowe the quantitie of theſe ſheres yo^{u} may not doe it by lookeinge onlye vpon both Mappes, but by compareing the two ſcales together, and thereby yo^{u} ſhall finde that the ſcale of tenne miles of *Carmarthenſhere*, maketh but vii miles and about a quarter, of the ſcale of *Pembrokſhere*, ſoe that by this yo^{u} maye prove, and finde out by the true tryall of the ſcale that eche of thoſe foure ſheeres, containeth more lande of length and bredthe (the miles beinge multiplied together and reduced into Planametrie,[1] the onlye meanes to knowe the contente of anye thinge,) then *Pembrokſhere* doth, and that by a greater quantitie, and yett in vywe by bothe Mappes *Pembrokſhere* to ſhewe much larger than anye of them, this is a thinge fitte to be conſidered of. ffor myne owne ſatiſfaction herein I haue longe ſeethence cauſed the Mappes of the ſheres of *Carmarthen* and *Pembrok* to be reduced to on equal ſcale and ioyned both in on Mappe[2] (w*hi*ch is a thinge eaſie to be done, and truely wrought,) and therein eche of them app*er*eth in his true biggnes, and if this be a cauſe that hath anye waye induced our ſuperiors ſoe to judge of *Pembrokſhere*, I w*ou*ld hartely wiſhe theire hono*u*rs would be truelye and throwely enformed of the ſtate thereof, bothe in this and all other thinges fitte to be knowne to theire *Lordſhips* for theire better inducem*en*t in theſe affaires.

Fo. 6a, anc. 3a. *The length of the Shere.*

The† length of this ſhere from the fartheſt pointes that can be Imagined to be meaſured for length is, from *Kemes head* called *Pen Kemes pointe* North, to *St. Gouens pointe* in the ſouthe xxvi miles and dī[3] And in bredth from the Ryver *Cledde* at *Egermount* in *Carmarthenſhere* on the eaſt ſide of the ſheere, to *St. Davides head* beinge a ſharpe and narrowe hedland ſtreached farre out into the ſea, wherein I doe my Countrey wronge to take that narowe hedland for my place of meaſure, yett becauſe it ſhall appeare (that beinge allowed) to be one of the leaſte ſheres in Wales, is 17 miles iii quarters, by this lett anye Geometrician reduce thoſe miles into ſquare Planametrye, and he ſhall finde this ſheere the leaſte of viii^{to} welſhe ſheeres one this side *Wye*; I haue

[1] The mensuration of plain surfaces.
[2] This map is published in Dineley's *Beaufort Progress.*
[3] *Dimidium.*

for myne owne proper vſe an eſpeciall pamphelett[1] tochinge this matter, containeinge the true quantitie (a monge diu*er*ſe other thinges) of the xiii ſheres of *Wales* reduced accordinge to arte, but this maye ſuffice in this place to iudge of the quantitie of *Pembrok-ſhere*, w*hi*ch is my only purpoſe to treate of here, and of none other.

It is seu*er*ed from *Cardiganſhere* lyeinge North of it by the Ryver *Tyvy* from the fall of the same into the ſea, untill the fall of the Ryver *Kych* into *Tyvy* being vii myles, and from *Carmarthen-ſhere* by the ryver *Kych* aforeſaid vntill the riſeinge thereof at *Blaen Kych* above *Kilrhedyn*, (*Carmarthenſhere* that waye ſhooteinge it ſelfe on the Northeaſt) & then by landmeares[2] from *Kilhredyn* to *Cronwere Water* at *Earewere*, in w*hi*ch courſe in ſome nookes *Pembrokſhere* reacheth to the Ryver *Taf*, and then *Carmarthenſhere* requiteinge it, reacheth to the Ryver *Cledde*, but in all this tracte betweene the both ſheres, *Carmarthenſhere* hath encroached[3] vpon *Pembrokſhere;* makeinge it ſelfe lardger and de*m*inniſheinge *Pembrokſhere*, the reſt of *Pembrokſhere* is compaſſed with the ſea from the ſoutheast and be ſouthe to North yt beinge as it were hangeinge to the lande by on quarter the reſt compaſſed with ſea/./.

The† ſcituation of this Countrey as yt yeldeth comoditie beinge placed on the ſea coaſt, for the eaſye vente[4] and vtterance of the Countreys comoditie by Water, as alſoe by the reſorte of forraine ſhippeinge homewarde and outwarde bounde for *Fraunce*, *Ireland* the Straites or anye other ſouth or weſt voyages, beinge forced by the ſouth and weſt windes ſendinge by them comenda*c*ions to the ſaffe and faire harborowe of *Milford*, By w*hi*ch meanes the gentlemen of the Countrey are often well ſerved of manye forraine comodities, for theire provi*c*ion, as with, Wynes, Sugar, Oyles, Spice, Iron, Lincloth,[5] &c., Soe on the other ſide the remotenes thereof for lande jorneys, as to the Cittie of *London* and the Towne of *Ludlowe*[6]; and other like are verye tediouſe and trobleſome, w*hi*ch amonge others* manye, yett eſpeciallye one galle[7] is founde thereby, that is (by the trobleſemeſt ſorte) by vexeinge the quieter by proces from *London* and the Counſell of the Marches, Eſpeciallye promoters[8]

Fo. 6b, anc. 3b.

The farre jorney to London and Ludlowe.

* Originally followed by 'thinge'.

Promoters.

[1] See the "Description of Wales" in Appendix. [2] Meer, a boundary.

[3] The encroachment of Carmarthenshire on the former boundaries of the county of Pembroke was a great grievance in the author's eyes. He attributes it (in the *Taylor's Cushion*) to Sir Thomas Jones, Knight of the Parliament for Pembrokeshire, who was a mere Carmarthenshire man, and only held land in Pembrokeshire for the life of his wife, who was a *persona grata* to Henry VIII.

[4] Sale. [5] Lin, the old form of *linen*, preserved in *linseed*.

[6] The seat of the Council of the Marches.

[7] Vexation. [8] Informers.

newelye named Relato*u*rs, a generac*i*on hated both of the good and badd people, whoe oftentymes vrge the poorer sorte more for theire eaſe then theire offences, to yeld them Compoſic*i*on, the Courtes of Juſtice being ſoe farre, and remote from this place/./.

Ayre of the Contrey. The Ayre of this Countrey is ſaied of ſtraungers that reſorte thether from the Inlande partes of *England*; to be verye cold and perceinge, but founde to be verye healthie to the Countrey Inhabitauntes, ſeldome ſubiecte to Infirmities, whereby the people live longe and contynue verie perfecte of healthe and memorye/./.

Subiect to Raine. The Countrey is more ſubiecte to ſhowers then to ſnowe or froſt, the reaſon (as I gather,) is the neerenes of the ſea, compaſſeinge yt, whoſe watrye vapours, aſcendinge by the heate of the ſonne is in the middle region of the Aire turned to Raine, w*hi*ch if it exceede not, harmeth not the ſoile, beinge naturallye more enclyned to dryenes then moiſture, ſoe that is a ſaieinge amonge the huſbandmen that in the ſommer, *Raine every daie is to much, and everie Second daie to litle*, Snowe is not ſoe frequent, nor contynuely not in anye parte neere the ſea whoſe heate (as ſome ſaie) but I thinke rather the moiſture conſumeth the ſame, ſoe
Fo. 7a, anc. 4a. that you ſhall ſeldome ſee anye parte of the ſeacoaſt contynue† covered with ſnowe one whole daie, but the huſbandmen maye dayelye goe to plowe and harowe neere the ſea, when thoſe more inwarde dwellers have theire lande faſt knite with froſt, This is the nature of all ſea coaſtes, beinge a matter of noe ſmall benefitte to the inhabitants, yett ſhall you ſee the toppes of the fewe highe Mountaines in this Countrey typped with white, when all the Countrey aboute them have ſhifted of the cold ſnowe./

Noysome winds. The weſterlye and ſouth weſt windes are founde verye ſharpe and tempeſtuouſe above all other to this Soyle, ſoe that the Countrey, for the moſt parte beinge champion[1] and open, the trees appeare bendinge and ſhorne with thoſe windes, ſoe that a ſtraunger maye travell in this Countrey knoweinge in what eate[2] of the winde his Iorney lyeth by the bendinge of the trees, as the Mariner dothe by his compaſſe at ſea,./.

Giraldus. Cambrenſis[3] highelye comendeth the healthie ayre of this Countrey, ſayeinge it is purified by the Iriſhe ayre, blowne over the ſeas, from Irelande into this parte of the lande, accompteinge the ayre of Irelande pure and healthie, as comeinge from a Countrey free, by nature from venemouſe wormes/./.

[1] Plain.
[2] *Sic* in MS.; cf. the Scotch *airt*, 'seat of the wind'.
[3] Rolls ed., vi, 93.

Of the *Anciente names of the Countrey and that the ſame in Anciente tyme was a kingedome and ſhortelye after the conqueſt created to an Earledome, and then raiſed to the degree of a Marqueſſe, and what Kinges Earles, and Marqueſſes hath ben of the ſame, and whie it is called,* litle Englande beyonde wales, Cap: 2:

Fo. 7b, anc. 4b.

The moſt Ancient name of this Countrey of *Pembrokſhere* that wee finde in anye Aucthors is *Demetia* a latyne worde formed out of the Anciente brittiſhe name thereof *Dyvett*, for ſoe was the Anciente name thereof, w*hi*ch then did containe a farre lardger territorye then nowe it doth,[1] the certainetie as yett I have not learned, and that it was a kingdome in Ancient tyme yt appeareth by the kinges thereof, which we reade of in manye histories of whome these yt followe are ſome, Yt appeareth by *Ponticus Virunnius*[2] an Anciente and well reputed writter, that in the tyme of *Julius Cæſar* yt was a kingdome, for ſaieth he, Kinge *Caſibelan* had with him in the battle againſt *Cæſar* three kinges, beinge his ſubiectes, *Cerdionus*, kinge of *Albania*, *Guithaet* kinge of *Venedotia*, and *Broughmaell** kinge of *Demetia*,[3] in w*hi*ch Battle he put *Cæſar* to flight, alſoe Doctor *Powell* in his Anotac*i*ons vpon Giraldus maketh menc*i*on of an Ancient Author[4] that saieth that *Morgan* kinge of *Demetia* with others were in the ayde of Broghmaell·* kinge of *Powis* againſt *Ethelfred·* kinge of Northumberland, Alſoe *John Bale*[5] in his booke of the learned men of *Brittaigne*, ſaieth that

*Originally 'Broughwell'.

* Originally 'Broghwell'.

[1] Nearly the whole of Cantref Gwarthaf—one of the "seven hundreds of Dyfed"—and half of Emlyn, another hundred, are now parts of Carmarthenshire.

[2] An Italian who published in 1508 the *Historia Britannica* in six books (an epitome of Geoffrey of Monmouth). It was published by Powel, in London, in 1584, who published in the same year Gerald's *Itinerary and Description of Wales*, with notes.

[3] These names are given in Rhys and Evans's *Bruts* (p. 84), as *Creidu*, *Gvarthaed*, and *Brithael.*

[4] Geoffrey of Monmouth, xi, 13. The name in Geoffrey is *Margadud*, now *Meredydd.*

[5] The first edition of Bale's *Summary of the Illustrious Writers of Great Britain* was published in Latin at Ipswich in 1548.

in the tyme of *Alphred* kinge of *Weſt Saxons*, there lyved a learned man named *Aſſerus Menevenſis* beinge Chauncelour of *St. Dauides*, whoe was cruellye perſecuted of *Hemedius*[1] kinge of that province, ſoe that he was forced to forſake his place and went to kinge *Alphred./.* Alſoe the Ancient Brittiſhe hiſtorie tranſlated by doctour *Powell*[2] into Engliſhe, ſaieth, that in the yeere of Chriſt 800 dyed *Run*[3] kinge of *Dyvett*, alſoe ſaieth the ſaied hiſtorie that† *Ethelwolf* kinge of *England* ſubdued the kingdome of *Dvyett of ſouthwales*, diuerſe other kinges of *Demetia* we finde often reherſed in the bookes of the Ancient genelogies of *Wales* as *Aylaw* kinge of *Dyvett*, *Marius* whom in the Ancient brittiſhe tongue we call *Meyrick* kinge of *Dyvett* and manye others from whome manye gentlemen of the Countrey doe yett to this daie derive theire diſcente from father to child downe to themſelves, all w*hi*ch manie-feſtly proveth that *Demetia* or *Dyvett* was in tymes paſt a kingdome/./.

Fo. 8a, anc. 5a.

Demetia.

But howe farre ſoever the kingdome of *Demetia* extended in Ancient tyme, yt is verye probable that the boundes thereof, were much broken and encroched by the *Saxons* in theire warres, ſoe that it cleene loſt the dignitie of a kingdome, and held onlye the name of a Countrey or province ſoe called, and as it ſeemeth in the ende it was ſoe worne that about the conqueſt tyme noe more was left vnder the name of *Dyuett* ſaveinge *Pembrok* and *Carmarthen ſheres*, for ſoe much doe I finde to be called *Dyuett* ſeethence the conqueſt, ffor ſaieth the welſhe hiſtorie latelye transflated by doctour *Powell* into Engliſhe *Griffith* the ſonne of *Rees ap Tewdwr* beinge betrayed by *Griffith ap Kynan* prince of Northwales, was forced to flee to *Dyuett* and there at *Ystrad Tywy* levied a power of men, which *Ystrad Tywy*[4] is the proper name of *Carmarthenſhere*, ſoe that at that tyme beinge aboute the tyme of H: 1:[5] *Carmarthenſhere* was parte of *Demetia* or *Dyvett*, but ſhortely after it ſoe decaied that noe more was taken to be parcell of *Dyvett* ſaveinge *Pembrokeſhere* onlye and ſoe is it accompted at this daie.

The name of Penbrock-shere when it begann.

The name of *Pembrokſhere* began firſt aboute the tyme when Earle *Strongbowe* ſubdued the Countrey and builded the Towne and Caſtle of *Pembrok* and thereof called all the Countrey there-

[1] The name in Asser (*Mon. Hist. Britt.*, 488A) is *Hemeid.*

[2] Dr. David Powel completed and published, in 1584, Humphrey Llwyd's translation of a form of the *Brut y Tywysogion* and its continuations from the death of Cadwallader in 680 to 1282, the year of the death of Prince Llewelyn.

[3] The real name is *Rein*, anciently *Regin.*

[4] The author's statements as to the relative extent of *Dyfed* and *Ystrad Tywi* must be accepted with qualifications.

[5] Henry I.

about, and ſeethence the name of *Pembrok* hath ſoe worne out the Ancient name *Demetia* in the ſame Countrey, that fewe or none of the Countrey themselues never knewe that ever theire Countrey was called by that name, one onlye place as yett retaineth a memoriall thereof that is the Church and pariſhe of *Llandiſſillio*, w*hi*ch for difference betweene that and other pariſhes of that name in ſondrye partes of *Wales* is comonlye called of the Inhabitantes adioyneinge *Llandiſſillio in Dyvett*: whereof arose a merrye Ieſt &c onlye nowe it is a name founde in Ancient writters, as the names *Albion* and *Brittaigne* is of *England*; howe this name *Pembrok* taketh originall I will declare hereafter where I treate of the Towne of *Pembrok* and here will I laye downe ſuch notes as I haue founde† written both in hiſtories and by Ancient chartou*r*s & writtings of the Earles of *Pembrok*, howe they had theire begineinge contynuaunce and diſoluc*i*on, I meane of theire regall Iuriſdiction power and authoritie, which they more like princes then ſubiects had over theire people of this Countrey in tymes paſt,: ffor you muſt vnderſtand that the Earles of *Pembrok* of late tyme (vntill the 27 of H: 8: that all *Wales* was reduced to ſhere grounde) were not Earles onlye in name, as the reſt of the Earles of *England* were, but they were Earles in deede and had the whole revenues of theire Earledomes, the appointinge of all Iuſtices, Sheriffes, Eſcheatou*r*s, Crowners, and all other officers for adminiſtrac*i*on of Iuſtice within the ſhere, they had power to pardon all capitall offences, as Murder, Rape, Burglarie, and all felonies, and might put to deathe or pardon parſons condempned before their officers at theire pleaſure, neyther doe I knowe that the kinges of *England* had anye power or rule, within the Earldome, ſave only the vſe of theire lawes and the governeme*n*t and permitteinge of the Coyne currant within the ſame, which I never cold learne or reade that the Earles of *Pembrok* did ever deale therein, And for that this treatiſe of the Earles of *Pembrok* hath ben by me collected before this tyme at the requeſt of a right honorable perſonage of this lande, I will therefore not alter the ſame, but inſerte it here in ſorte as I then collected it, w*hi*ch all will give light to ſome things that I have breifelie before touched, onlye I will therein add ſome fewe thinges fitteinge this worke/./.[1]

Fo. 8b, anc. 5b.

[1] At the top of the next page (Fo. 9a, anc. 6a) the following heading is written but crossed out:—

A Catologue of all the Earles of *Pembrok* that have ben ſeethence the conqueſt, in order as they ſucceeded with the yſſues of diuerſe of them, together with theire proper coate Armor, and a breefe remembraunce written touching ſome matters of eche of the ſaied Earles, ./.

A breefe *discripcion of the Earledome or Countye of Pembrok.*

The Earledome of *Pembrok* was in Ancient tyme a Countye Palantyne and had all Iuriſdicc*i*on regall, The Earle had vnder him there, Iuſtices of his owne, a ſheriffe, Stewarde, Chauncelor, Chamberlaine, Coroner, Eſcheator, and diuerſe other officers neceſſarie for ſuch a royall Iuriſdiction, all made by himſelfe, he held Seſſions and a Countye Courte monethlie,[1] in w*hi*ch Countie Courte were tryed all pleas of the Crowne, and pleas Reall whatſoeu*er* by originall writte vnder the ſeale and ſtile of the ſaide Earle, There were fines levyed and recou*er*yes paſſed, All writes were made in the Earles name, and not in the name of the kinge he had power to pardon all offences, he had a Chauncerie, Comon place and Exchequer, holden within his Caſtle of *Pembrok* · wherevnto all his people reſorted, for Iuſtice, and triall of all theire cauſes : he erected Townes and encorporated the ſame with manye lardge and ample liberties, he hadd the comaundinge and leadinge of all the people of his Countrey to make warres at his pleaſures he had all maner of fforfectures, & Eſcheates whatſoeu*er*. Yea he had th'Eſcheates of Traytors landes, he had w*i*thin his Countrey ix· Caſtles of his owne and xii Segniories or Mano*ur*s which were parcell of his Countye, yt nowe conſiſteth of vii hundreds, a multitude of Seigniories and mano*ur*s cxlv pariſhes,[2] beſides Chappells, vii boroughs and corporat Townes[3] whereof iii are governed by Maio*ur*s, one Cittie where in Ancient tyme hath ben an Archbuſhopp, and the Metropolitan ſea of

[1] The County Court of the freeholders, under the sheriff as representative of the Crown, was the successor of the Saxon "shire moot", under the bishop and ealdorman. In it was vested the whole judicial, military, and fiscal government of the county before the creation of the justices itinerant and of the peace. Its most important function in later times was the election of the knight of the shire. The name of County Court given to the district courts established in 1846 is a misnomer.

[2] There are now 151 parishes in this county.

[3] Haverfordwest, Pembroke, Tenby, Wiston, Narberth, Fishguard, and Newport.

all *Wales;* yt had in it, in Ancient tyme two Abbeyes,[1] on Cell or Comandrie of *St. Johns of Jeruſalem* in *England*,[2] diuerſe priories, ffriers, Mandleus,[3] Almehouſes, Colledges and other Religious houſes[4]; In the middeſt thereof is the Towne of *Hauerfordweſt* a Countie of it ſelfe,† Millford havon the moſt famouſe porte of Chriſtendome hath his begineinge and endeinge in this Countye, halfe the ſhere is mere Engliſhe both in ſpeach and maners, the other halfe ſpeakethe the welſhe tongue, ffoure partes of five of this ſheere is compaſſed with the ſea w*hi*ch together with Milford havon paſſeinge and runinge throwe the harte of the Countrey ſendeth a ſhore fiſhe plentifullye, of all ſortes, and at all ſeaſons, The land is fertill and loaden with Corne and graſſe, The mountaines aboundeinge with heardes of all ſortes of Cattle, ffuell of all ſortes is here to be had, as, wood, ſeacoles, furſe and turffe, The ſoile prouided with diu*er*ſe meanes to better the naturall goodnes of the ſame, as Claye marle, ſtone marle, lyme, ſande, or gravell marle, and Owſe[5] of the ſea, all w*hi*ch procure both corne and graſſe most aboundauntelie, The Countrey moſt pleaſante for gentlemens paſtimes, as hawkeinge, huntinge, fiſhinge, and fowlinge, And adioyneinge to the ſhore of the ſame are diu*er*se bigge Ilandes in the ſea, not farre from the lande which

Fo. 9b. anc. 6b.

[1] St. Dogmael's and Alba Landa or Whitland, which the author includes in Pembrokeshire.

[2] At Slebech, founded in the 12th century.

[3] Hospitals for the poor. The word meant is *Maudlens.*

[4] Tanner, in his *Notitia Monastica* (published in 1695), *sub voc.* Pembrokeshire, gives the following religious houses in that county :—(1) St. Dogmael: Tirone Abbey, dedicated to St. Mary, and its cell at Caldey. (2) Pille: Tirone Priory, but later unreformed Benedictine, dedicated to St. Mary and St. Budoc ; said to have been dependent on St. Dogmael. (3) Haverford, without the town, Priory of Austin Canons, dedicated to St. Mary and St. Thomas the Martyr ; within the town, a house of Black Friars. (4) Pembroke: Benedictine Priory at Monketon, originally a cell of the Abbey of St. Martin at Sayes, in Normandy, but in 1443 made subject to St. Albans ; near the town, the hospital of St. Mary Magdalene. (5) Slebach: a preceptory of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. (6) Tenbigh: the Hospital or Lazar House of St. Mary Magdalene for the king's tenants, and the Hospital or Free Chapel of St. John the Baptist. (7) St. Davids: the Cathedral and the College of St. Mary, with a master and seven priests. Tanner also mentions the Priory of the Blessed Virgin at Lowhadan, and a hospital at Lowardyn, which he rightly conjectures to be the same place ; also a house of Augustine Friars at Newport. At the dissolution, Monkton Priory was granted to John Vaughan and Katherine his wife ; most of the other houses to Roger Barlow and Thomas Barlow.

[5] *Ouze*, *ooze*, soft mud.

yeldeth ſondrie comodities and pleaſures, It hath ben allwaies inhabited with diu*er*ſe knights and gentlemen of greate worſhippe, Therehence alſoe hath ſpronge vpp diu*er*ſe famowſe clearkes, whoſe lerned workes are yett famouſe to the World, yt is called *litle England beyonde Wales;* finallye to conclude the Earles thereof from tyme to tyme have ben moſt famouſe perſonages, and cheefe pillers of this Realme of *England* in theire tyme, as maye appeare by the Catologue of the ſaied Earles, w*hi*ch here enſueth, On of the Earles of *Pembrok* ſubdued the Realme of *Ireland* and gaue it francklye to the kinge of *Englande*, yt is the onlye and ſole Earledome that is or hath ben in *Wales* The Iuriſdiction Royall of this Earldome contynued and was permitted to remaine in the Earles themselues contynuallye from tyme to tyme from the Conqueſt vntill the xxviith yeere of Kinge H: 8: whereas all other Earles of this lande had loſt theire Iuriſdictions manye hundred yeeres before, and had onlye the names of theire Earledomes left vnto them, Allſoe the ſaied Earles by office at the Coronac*i*on of the kinges of *England* were to carye a ſworde as doth appeare by diuerſe Coronations of the kinges, w*hi*ch are extante and as partely maye appeare by this treatiſe: yt is called Pembrokeſhere of the Towne ſoe called, w*hi*ch Towne was ſoe named of the Cantred & Comott wherein the ſaied Towne was firſt builded, for ſoe doe I finde that Cantred called in the Ancient division of *Wales*, and whie the ſaide Cantred was ſoe called it plainely appeareth by the Etimo-
Fol. 10a, anc. 7a. logie of the worde, to all thoſe, that† vnderſtand the Ancient Brittiſhe or welſhe tongue & ſpecially the ſoile it ſelfe ſheweth the ſame to be ſoe to all that doe knowe the fertillitie, and batfullnes[1] thereof, for this is the verie ſame place w*hi*ch is ſoe greatelye comended of *Giraldus Cambrenſis* in his diſcripc*i*on of *Wales*,[2] ſoe that of the fertilitie it firſt tooke the name of *Pen-bro:* for this word *Pen:* in welſhe ſignifieth the heade, principall or cheefe parte of anye thinge, and *bro:*[3] ſignifieth a vale or anye plaine ſoile fertill and fitt for Corne, and for that this place of all *Wales* is the cheefeſt vale, thereof yt was and not vnworthielye called *Penbro* or *Penvro:* by the euphonie of the ſpeache and hereby is to be noted that they miſſe and erre, that write the worde *Pembrock* with an *M:* for the true orthographie is *Penbrock*, with an *N:* and tochinge the etimologie of Penbro: I muſt diſcent from *Giraldus*, whoe saieth

[1] Fruitfulness.

[2] "Kambriæ totius Demetia tam pulcherrima est quam potissima," Rolls ed., vi, 93.

[3] In old Welsh *Brog*. *Penvro* practically means *Land's End*.

vnde et Penbrochia caput maritimum ſonat,[1] whereby I gether that *Giraldus* althoughe he bare the ſurname of *Cambrenſis*, yett he alltogether was ignorant of the Brittiſhe or Welſhe tongue, for betweene thoſe two wordes there is noe kinde of analogie as vnto all thoſe that vnderſtand bothe ſpeaches it is apparante.[2]

[1] Rolls ed., vi, 89. The word in Gerald is *maritimæ*.

[2] John Lewis, in his note on this passage, defends the etymology of Gerald and suggests another—'The head of the *foam*' (Welsh *Broch*).

Fo. 10b, anc. 7b.

A Catalogue *of the Earles of* Pembroke.

Touchinge the Earles of *Pembrok* or rather rulers of *Pembrok-ſhere* diuerſe men writte diverſelie, The firſt matter that I can finde thereof is by a late written Author that affirmed that *William* the conqueror made *Water Gifford alias de Beouſe* Earle of *Penbrook*· and *Buckingham*, others write that *Water fitz Richard* was by William the conqueror made Earle of *Penbrook*, but whether *Water Gifford* and *Water fitz Richard* was the ſelfe ſame perſon I cannot learne, neither is it greately materiall, for if the conqueror did give them, the ſaid Earledome certaine it is they never enioyed the ſame, nor had anye benefitte thereby, They alſoe write that *Gilbert Strongbowe* whome I take for the firſt Earle of Penbrok was ſiſter ſonne to *Water fitz Richard* as thoughe the ſaied Earle *Strongbowe* ſhould claime the Earldome by inheritaunce from the ſaied *Water*; Our hiſtories declare plainelye that kinge H: 1: gave *Gilbert Strongbowe*· all the lands of *Cadogan ap Blethin*, and he came to *Cardiganſheere* and built two Caſtles there which *Roger Mountgomerie* had built before, but whether the ſaid Gilbert Strongbowe had the Earldome of Penbrok by Inheritaunce from the ſaid *Water*, or by the kinges gifte, certaine it is that he was Earle there, and that it contynued in his yſſue vntill *Richard*· 2: tymes; The ſaied *Gilbert Strongbowe*; before he had the Earledome of *Penbrok* was Earle of *Strugall* or *Chepſtowe*, for ſoe ſhall you here him named in diuerſe hiſtories, which althoughe the name vaniſhed in tyme and Penbrok onlye remained, yett did the ſame Inheritaunce of *Strugall* and *Chepſtowe* contynue for manye yeeres in his yſſue, as ſhall be declared hereafter/

Strongbowe.

Alſoe the moſt probable Authors that writte touchinge theſe matters affirme, that *William Ruſus* in his tyme gave the Countrey of *Dyvett*, (for ſoe is *Penbrokſhere* called in Ancient hiſtories) to *Arnolphe Mountgomerie*, ſecond ſonne to *Roger Mountgomerie*· the firſt Earle of *Salopp* and *Arundell*; and that he came to this Countrey with a power of *Normans* and *Saxons* ſubdued it, and planted himſelfe and his people aboute the place where the towne of *Penbrok* nowe ſtandeth, and haveinge optained his deſired purpoſe of the ſame, (as it ſeemeth) retorned againe into *England*

placeinge and leaveinge behinde him on *Gerald fitz windeſor* a worthie Captaine as his Steward,† to rule and governe ſuch parte as he had conquered and ſubdued, and to governe his people and gariſons w*hi*ch he had left there behinde him to keepe the Countrey in ſubiection./. Fo. 11a, anc. 8a.

This *Arnulph* before his departure begone to build the Caſtle of *Penbrok*, but as ſome writers declare, and as it is moſt likelye it was but of Turffe, and Timber in maner of a ſconce[1] or forte, but at the laſt this *Arnulphe* and his brother *Roger* did rebell againſt kinge H: 1: and in the ende were both baniſhed, and all theire landes confiſcated to the kinge, whoe then gave *Dyvett* or *Penbrokſhere* to a knight called *Saer*, whoe as it maye be gethered by the hiſtories enioyed it not much above a yeere but the ſame was beſtowed upon the ſaied *Gerald of Windeſor*, whoe had been ſtewarde there to *Arnulphe Mountgomerie* before/

This *Gerald*[2] had then maryed *Nest* the doughter of *Rees ap Tewdwr* beinge a goodly and beawetifull ladie, one whome a litle before the ſaied King h: had begotten a ſonne called *Robert* who was after Earle of *Glouceſter and Briſtow*, This *Gerald* enioyed the Countrey for manye yeeres, and had greate warres with the princes of *Wales*, yt ſeemeth that he rather governed the ſame as ſtewarde to kinge H: then as Earle or lorde or by anye right of his owne, for I can reade of noe gifte that the kinge made unto him thereof, and therefore in this Catalogue of the Earles of *Pembrok* I omitte this *Gerald*, and all thoſe that were before him, allthoughe I finde ſome of them named Earles of ſome Authors, but not ſoe auctentically*e* that I dare affirme them to be Earles, and therefore omittinge thoſe, I begine with *Gilbert Strongbowe*, whoe was the firſt ondoubted earle there,/./. *Gilbert Strongbowe.*

I reade alſoe that about the fift or vi^te^ yeere of kinge h: 1: a greate parte of the Lowe Countreys in *Flaunders* was ſuddenlye overflowen by the ſea and never afterwardes recou*er*ed whereby the Inhabitantes of that place were ſent by the Earle of *Flaunders* to his Cozen kinge H. to ſeeke habitac*i*ons, for that diuerſe partes of *England* laye waſte and wanted people, by reaſon that moſt of the *Saxons* were diſtroied by the *Normans* about the Conqueſt tyme, wherevpon king H: 1: placed them with theire wives and children in *Cumberlande* neere *Carlile* as Mr. *Camden* noteth, where they contynued for a ſpace. But† afterwardes kinge h: wanteinge people to ſupplie his garriſons w*hi*ch he was forced to keepe in *Wales*, for that the people and princes of *Wales* made greate Fo. 11b, anc. 8b.

[1] A block-house. [2] He was the grandfather of Gerald the Welshman.

diſtructions of his people there dayelye, he thought better to ſende thoſe ffleminges thither to gett theire lyveinges by contynuall fightinge with the welſhmen then to ſpend his owne men in that ſervice, wherefore the ſaid ffleminges were ſent thither to *Gerald* ſtewarde of *Penbrok*, whoe gave them habitacions and dwellinges in Rowſe, and about *Penbrok* and *Tenby*· and other places in the Countrey adioyneinge whoe were for the ſafegarde of themſelues forced to begine to builde the Townes of *Tenby Penbrok* and *Haverfordwest*, and to keepe themſelves within garriſons for manye yeeres, endureinge contynuall warres with the welſhmen/. The ſaied *Gerald* builded againe and re-edified the Caſtle of *Penbrok*; w*hi*ch *Arnulph Mountgomerie* begone at a place called *Congarth vychan*, w*hi*ch I thinke if thoſe ffleminges and Saxons could have pronounced or written the ſame truelye ſhould rather be *Y Gongol vychan*,[1] and this app*ear*eth manifeſt by the ſcituac*i*on of the ſaied Towne of *Penbrok*, which ſtandeth in a litle nooke of lande, ſtretchinge it ſelfe into *Millford havon*, yt ſeemeth that this Gerald did not beſtowe anye greate chardge in ſtrengtheinge and fortifieinge the ſaied Caſtle in his tyme, neyther maye we Iudge that the Caſtle and Towne of *Penbrok* were anye thinge neere in force and ſtrengthe as ſeethence we ſee it hath ben made by the Earles that ſucceeded, ffor we reade that *Owen ap Cadwgan* beinge in love with the ſaied *Geraldes* wiefe beinge his neere Cozen came ſuddainelye in the night from his father's houſe with a fewe companie entred the Caſtle, and *Gerald* convayeinge himſelfe awaye throughe a privie, *Owen ap Cadwgan* tooke his wiefe, and children and ledd them Captyve to *Powys ;/*.

After this *Gerald* or rather in his tyme kinge H: 1: gave or inveſted *Gilbert Strongbowe* in poſſeſſion of the ſaied Earldome of *Penbrok* as before is touched, w*hi*ch *Gilbert* was firſt vndoubted Earle thereof, whereof we haue anye certaine grounde and warrante, and therefore I place him firſt Earle of *Penbrok* in this Catalogue/./.

Gilbert Strongbowe the firſt vndoubted Earle of *Penbrok* was a valiant and a noble Captaine, and at ſuch tyme as kinge h: 1: in parſon ledd a huge armye againſt all *Wales* and devideinge his forces into three partes, this *Gilbert* had the leadeinge of on thirde parte thereof againſt *Southwales*, wherein was the whole ſtrengthe

[1] The *Brut* (anno 1105) says that Gerald built the castle at a place called Cenarth Fechan, or Little Cenarth. There was a "Cenarth Maur", mentioned in *Lib. Land.*, pp. 120, 122, 244, now the parish of Cenarth (on the Teivi). *Y gongl fechan* is 'the little corner'.

of †the fourthe parte of all *England*, and *Cornwall*, this was about the yeere of our Lord 1113,: I finde alſoe that H: 2 at ſuche tyme as he baniſhed ſuch *fleminges* as kinge *Stephen* had brought into *England*, that he ſent ſome of them to theire Cozens in *Pembrokſhere*, by w*hi*ch it appeareth that *Penbrokſhere* hath ben inhabited by *Normans*: *ffleminges* and *Engliſhmen*, beinge ſente thither at ſondrie tymes for ſupplies of the garriſons w*hi*ch were maintained there againſt the Welſhmen, for manye yeeres/: but whereas ſome write that the ffleminges are yett there and to be knowen and differinge from* other by theire ſpeache and maners, therein they are miſtaken, for if the ffleminges were placed there, as we muſt thinke and creaditte the hiſtories,[1] yett certaine it is that there is nowe no ſigne thereof, But both the ffleminges and ffrench ſpeach alltogether worne awaie, and onlye Engliſhe ſuch as is ſpoken in other parte of *England* is comonlye vſed there, and none other language, But it ſeemeth that moſt of the gentlemen of accompte that came thether with the conquerors thereof, were *Normans* and *frenchmen*, which maye well be perceaved by theire names w*hi*ch I haue collected[2] together of late for that purpoſe/./. Fo. 12a, anc. 9a.

* Originally 'of'.

This Earle *Gilbert* after he ben Earle of *Penbrok* xxxij yeeres dyed in *Anno* 1141 leaveinge behinde him a ſonne called *Richard* and a doughter called *Baſill.*/.[3]

Richard the ſonne and heire of Earle *Gilbert* ſucceeded his father and was Earle of *Penbrok:* There was greate warres betweene him and the ſonnes of *Griffith ap Rees ap Tewdwr*, and

[1] In the *Taylor's Cushion* the author gives as Flemish relics the names of Herbrandston, Hermanston, Flemingston, Pelcam, Jordanston, and Yarbeston; also the earlier use of carts in this county than in any other in Wales. For traces of Flemish words see the "Dialect of Little England" in the Appendix to Mr. Laws' *History*.

[2] Some of these are given in the *Baronia*.

[3] The following pedigree of the De Clares and their descendants may be of service :—

Richard Fitz Gilbert. = Rohaise, sister of Walter Giffard, E. of Buckingham.

Gilbert de Clare, sometimes called E. of Striguil, +1115. = Adeliza de Clermont.

Gilbert (Strongbow), E. of Pembroke, + 1148. = Elizabeth de Meulan.

Richard (Strongbow), E., + 1176. = Eva, daughter of Dermot Mac Murrough.

William Mareschal, E., + 1219. = Isabel.

manye ſkirmiſhes made, amonge w*hi*ch the welſhmen one night comeinge ſecrettlye alonge the ſandes betweene *Eare were* & *Tenbye* were not deſcried vntill they had privilie entred the Caſtle of *Tenby*, ſlewe all the people they found there, and ſoe departed without hurte, but Earle *Richard* ſhortely repaired it againe. In his youth he gave himſelfe to greate Ryott and conſumed the moſt parte of his lyveings, and after departed and dwelt about *Chepſtowe*, but afterwardes he was made Captaine of the Welſhemen or inhabitauntes of *Southwales*, w*hi*ch went into *Ireland*, where he maryed *Eua* †doughter and heire to the kinge of *Leinſter*, and ſoe enioyeinge that parte of *Ireland* by her, he conquered a greate parte of all the reſidue, All w*hi*ch afterwardes he yelded and gave to kinge H: 2: whoe in lieue thereof made him Earle Marſhall of *Ireland*, and gave him greate poſſeſſions there, as *Weiſford*,[1] *Kildare*, and *Oſſorie* appointeinge him his lieutenaun*t*e in *Ireland* where at length beinge hurte in a ſkermiſhe he dyed of a wounde in *Anno* 1176: 22: H: 2: leveinge behinde him, but one doughter lyveinge w*hi*ch he had by his ſecond wiefe *Eua* doughter to the kinge of *Leinſter*, as aforeſaied, whoe enioyed all his greate poſſeſſions, he was alſoe Earle of *Strugull*[2] a caſtle in *Monmouth ſhere* and alſoe of *Chepſtowe*, which names of *Strugull* and *Chepſtow* were in proceſſe of tyme forgotten but the poſſeſſions thereof with the names onlye of Earles of *Penbrok* remained as before partely is declared/.

Fo. 12b, anc. 9b.

Iſabel the onlye doughter and heire of *Richard lord Strongbow*

[1] Wexford.

[2] Striguil was the castle at Chepstow.

Earl of *Penbrok* and *Eua* his ſecond wiefe after the deceaſe of her father enioyed his landes, and was governed by tuto*u*rs beinge an inphant, by reaſon whereof the garriſons in *Penbrokſhere* beinge but ſlenderlye looked to, and the cheeffe ſtrengthe of that Towne being warlicke fellowes ſent into other places of ſervice, w*hi*ch being p*er*ceaved by the Welſhmen, they vnder the leadeinge of *Maelgwn* and *Howell* ſonnes of prince *Rees* came with all theire forces to *Tenby*, w*hi*ch they wanne by plaine force, and for that it then was the cheefe receptacle of all the Engliſhe forces, and a place by naturall ſcituac*i*on verye ſtronge, they ſlewe all the Inhabitantes and burnte the Towne to aſhes, and ſoe departed, for this her tutors were greately blamed, and complainte made to the kinge, whoe to redreſſe the ſame, gave her preſentlye and in mariadge to *William de la Grace*, otherwiſe called *William Marſhall* a wieſe and a valiant noble man createinge him alſoe Earle of *Penbrok*, and Earle Marſhall of *England*, he repaired the Caſtle of *Tenby* ſhortely after, But the Towne lay deſolate longe after. This *William de la Grace* in his tyme became the Lord protecto*u*r both of the kinge and all his dominions, and was the onlye[1] ſtaie of all the Engliſhe nac*i*on, and finallie he dyed *Ano: dom:* 1219, †and in the third yeere of kinge H: 3: after he had been Earle 30 yeeres and lis buryed in the Inner Temple at *London:* he had by his wiefe fyve ſonnes all Earles of *Penbrok;* one after an other, and dyed without Iſſue, he had alſoe fyve doughters amongſt whom his greate inheritance was devided, he and his children were all called *Marſhalls* after the office they enioyed, w*hi*ch was Earle Marſhall, and in him firſt began the name of *Marſhall*|.|.

Tenby burnt to aſhes.

Fo. 13a, anc. 10a.

This *William Marſhall* proved to be the moſt noble and politique governor, a greate and wieſe Counſellor in the ſtate, he was the cheefeſt procurer of the peace betweene kinge H: 3:[2] and the Barons, and perſwaded the kinge to graunte the Charter of the Liberties of *England*, comonly called *Magna Charta*, in the original recorde of w*hi*ch Charter the ſaid *William Marſhall* is named the cheefeſt man that procured the ſame, in w*hi*ch charter the kinge calleth him Ruler of the kinge and his Realm *vid*(*elice*)*t* by these words, *Henricus dei gracia Angliæ, Rex, dominus Hiberniæ, Dux Normaniæ, et Aquitaniæ, Comes Andugagiæ,*[3] *Archiep*(*iſcop*)*is, Ep*(*iſcop*)*is, Abb*(*at*)*ibus, Baronibus, Juſtic*(*iariis*), *Foreſtariis, vic*(*e-comitibus*) *p*(*re*)*po*(*ſi*)*tis, et balliuis, et fidelibus ſuis preſentem chartam*

[1] Chief.

[2] King John. The Latin words which follow are from the confirmation of the Charter by Henry III.

[3] Anjou.

inſpecturis, Sal(u)t(e)m, Sciatis quod nos intuitu dei et pro ſalute anime n(oſt)re et animarum anteceſſorum et ſucceſſor(um) n(oſt)rorum ad exaltationem S(anc)tæ Eccl(eſ)iæ emendationem Regni n(oſt)ri ſpontanea et bona voluntate n(oſt)ra Dedimus, conceſſimus, et hac preſenti charta n(oſt)ra pro nobis et heredibus n(oſt)ris imperpetuum de conſillio venerabilis p(at)ris D(omi)ni Gualenſis S(an)cti Martini preſbiteris Cardinalis et Apostolicæ ſedis legati, Domini Walteri. Ebor(aci) Archiep(iſcop)i et alior(um) ep(iſcop)orum Angliæ, Willi-(el)mi Mareſcalli comitis Pembrochiæ Rectoris n(oſt)ri et Regni n(oſt)ri, &c ; ./.

This *William* at the Coronation of kinge *Richard:* 1: did beare before him the Regall ſcepter w*hi*ch as I iudge he did beare by his office of Earle Marſhall of *England*; w*hi*ch Earle Marſhallſhippe departed from the Earldome of *Penbrok* to the *Bigods* with the ſeconde doughter of *William* Earle Marſhall, and afterwardes the Earles of *Penbrok* and theire yſſue at the Coronations bare onlye a ſworde,: vpon the deathe of this *William* Earle Marſhall was compiled this Epitaphe

Sum quem Saturnum ſibi ſenſit Hibernia, ſolem
Anglia, mercurium Normania, Gallia martem

William le Grace the ſecond Earle Marſhall of *England* in *An(n)o Domini* 1219 : 3: h: 3 enioyed his fathers poſſeſſions, he had greate warres in *Ireland* for the keepinge of his landes there, and likewiſe with *Llewelin* prince of *Northwales*, whome he overthrew in diu*er*ſe greate Battells and in one battle againſt the ſaied *Llewelin* in the vijth yeere of kinge *Henrie* the thirde, he tooke priſoners and killed
Fo. 13b, anc. 10b. Nine thowſande †Welſhmen; ſome write that he builded the Caſtle of *Kilgarran* he maryed *Ellen* on of the doughters of kinge *John* and haveinge ben Earle twelve yeeres he dyed, and is buryed by his father in the Inner Temple church, he had noe yſſue of his bodie lyveinge at the tyme of his deceaſe *obijt* 15 H: 3 : 1230: ./.

Richard the Brother of the laſt Earle *William* became Earle next after him in *An(n)o* 1231 he was ſent by kinge H: 3: with a greate power to warre in *Fraunce*, but after returneinge into *England* there fell ſome variance betweene the kinge and other the nobillitie ſoe that Earle *Richarde* takeinge parte againſt the kinge Ioined himſelfe with other Lordes in the Barrons warres, and cheefelye with *Llewelyn* prince of *Wales*, and *Symon Mountfort* Earle of *Leiceſter*, the kinge therefore wrote into *Ireland* to the lordes there to ſeaſe into theire handes all his landes there, w*hi*ch when they wente aboute to invade, he haſted over thither where enterpriſeinge with a ſmall Armye to fight with *Maurice Fitzgeralde* he was by

his owne people betrayed and left defolate in the field, where after he was wounded, was taken prifoner neere *Kildare* and carryed to the Caftle of *Kilkenye*, where within xvj^en^ daies after he dyed, after he had ben Earle three yeeres, he lyeth buryed in the church of *Kilkennye*, then belongeinge to the ffryers[1] preachers, when newfe of his deathe came into *England*, the kinge greatelye repented his dealeinges alleadgeinge that he had loft by folley the nobleft captaine in the worlde./.

Gilbert the brother of Earle *Richard* was by the kinge reftored to all his brothers landes and hono*ur*s and at whitfontide in *An(n)o* 1234, the kinge made him knight, and deliu*er*ed him the Rodd of Earle Marfhalls office as his Aunceftou*r*s before him had, he was in greate favoure with the kinge neere fyve yeeres, but then by meanes of fome that envyed his eftate, he fell into the kinges difpleafure, foe that he forfooke the Courte, and maintaineinge himfelfe upon his owne lyveinges verye noblye, came at laft to the Caftle of *Hereford*, where at A tturney w*hi*ch he there held he was overthrowen from his horfe and foe brufed that fhortlye after he died of the hurte, in *Anno:* 1241 after he had ben Earle vii yeeres; he maryed *Margett* doughter to *Alexander* kinge of *Scottes* by whome he had yffue a fonne w*hi*ch dyed before his father. This Earle *Gilbert* gave †Certaine landes to the Mawdlens[2] of *Tenbye* towardes the relieffe of the leepers there, w*hi*ch lande after beinge converted to other vfes, is nowe of her maie*fti*es poffeffions/./. Fo. 14a, anc. 11a. *Landes geuen to the Maudlens of Tenbye:*

Walter the brother of Erle *Gilbert* and his next heire enioyed all his poffeffions and was Earle Marfhall of *England*, and vifittinge his Countye of *Pembrok* tooke order for the repairinge of *Tenby* w*hi*ch as yet laye defolate, where alfoe he appointed to build an Almes houfe for poore people there, and to newe build the churche, but before anyethinge was p*er*fected after he had ben Earle aboute fyve yeeres he dyed the fourth daie of december *Anno* 1245, in the xxx^th^ yeere of kinge *henry* the thirde leaveinge noe yffue of his bodie and lyeth buryed in the Abbey of *Tintern*/./.

Anfelme his brother in *Anno* 1245 aforefaid obtained the title of Earl Marfhall **Pembrok*, and lo*rd* of *Weifford*, but he enioyed it fcarce on moneth and then dyed the 22^th^ of december in *Anno* aforefaid.∴/. * Originally 'ofPembrok'.

After the death of *Anfelm*, *Warren de Mountchenfey* w*hi*ch *Warren Montchenfey*

[1] The Dominicans and Franciscans had both houses at Kilkenny, founded respectively in 1225 and 1230.

[2] This leper hospital was dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, and was distinct from the hospital of St. John the Baptist, mentioned below.

had maried the eldeſt, but ſome ſaie the ſeconde daughter of *William Marſhall* and *Iſabell Strongbowe*, in her right obtained the Earledome of *Pembrok* and *lordſhip* of *Weiſford*, but the office of Earle Marſhall was by the kinge given to *Hugh Bigod*, who had maryed *Mawde* the ſeconde or as ſome thinke the eldeſt doughter of *William Marſhall ;* This *Warren de Mountchenſey* comeinge into *Pembrokſhere* with his wiefe *Joan* repaired diuerſe ruinouſe places

The Church of Tenby re-edified.

and cauſed the church of *Tenby* to be perfected, w*hi*ch from the tyme of the burneinge of the Towne till then was not reſtored,: he alſoe beſtowed greate ſtore of plate and Jewells vpon the ſaied churche w*hi*ch they had enioyed longe after :/ But this *Joan* his wiefe dyeinge, ſhortely after he maried his ſecond wiefe, and had yſſue by both of them, and in *Anno* 1255: 40 H: 3: he dyed : he had yſſue by his firſt wiefe onlye two children then lyveinge, *Joan* his doughter married to *William de Valence*, and *William* who was then onder age enioyed the title of all his fathers hono*u*rs he had by his ſecond wife alſoe diu*er*ſe children, he dyed verye riche his goods as by his teſtam*en*t appeared, amounted to above 200000 markes/

Fo. 14b, anc. 11b.

†After the deceaſe of *Warren de Mountchenſei*, *William* his ſonne by his wiefe *Joan* ſucceeded · and was Earle of *Pembrok* & lo*rd* of *Weiſford* and *Mountchenſey* · beinge then onder age the kinge gave the wardſhippe of him to his brother in lawe *William de Valence :* But within on moneth after he came to full age and was newely entred into his fathers poſſe*ſſ*ions he died without yſſue, his ſiſter *Joan* beinge of the whole bloud enioyed all his poſſeſſions, He died in *An(n)o* 1257: 42: H: 3 : enioyeinge his titles but two yeeres/

William de Valence.

William de Valence whoe was brother to kinge h: 3: by the mother, beinge longe before maryed to *Joan* the ſiſter of *William de Mountchenſey* became Inheritor of the ſaied *Mountchenſeys* hono*u*rs, ſoe that he in the right of his wife was Earle of *Pembrok*, lorde of *Weiſford* and *Mountchenſey*, he had alſoe manye other hono*u*rs that his brother kinge *Henry* had beſtowed vpon him/

First Charter of Tenby/.

This *William de Valence*, and *Joan* his wiefe gave the Townſemen of Tenby· the firſt Charter of liberties they enioyed after the burneinge of the ſaied Towne, and licenced them to choſe yeerelye amonge them ſelues two portriefes for theire gou*er*nement : He alſoe graunted to the Burgeſſes free comon yeerelye vpon all his groundes and meadowes, from the tyme of moweinge the Corne and haye there groweinge vntill the feſt[1] of the purification of *Marie* yerely : w*hi*ch vntill this daie the Burgeſſes enioye, and as

[1] February 2nd.

the reporte goeth he gave the gleebe w*hi*ch vntill nowe is pertaineinge to the perſonage out of his landes there,: And I have ſeene an Inquiſic*i*on taken in the tyme of kinge h: 4: that this *William de Valence* and *Joan* his wiefe builded the hoſpitall of *St. Johns* neere *Tenby* · and gave much more lande to the ſame then nowe it hath: It is nowe parcell of the Queenes ma*ieſties* poſſeſſions by ſuppreſſion of the Religious houſes, and was founded to keepe both laye and Clerkes, Before this tyme in the tyme of the former Earles of *Penbrok* there had ben greate quarrells and troubles betweene the ſaied Earles, and the Ancient Lordes of *Kemes* · touchinge the priviledges and Iuriſdictions belongeinge to the Lordſhippes of *Penbrok* and *Kemes*, which in the tyme of the ſaid *William de Valence* was ended as appeareth by diu*er*ſe recordes eſpeciallye by a Compoſic*i*on w*hi*ch paſſed betweene the ſaied *William de Valence* then Erle of *Penbrok* †and the Lord *William Martine* then Lorde of *Kemes* in the preſence of diu*er*ſe lordes and Nobilitie of this Realme, dated at *Kingſclipſton*[1] in xviii^th^ yeere of kinge *Edwarde* the firſt, w*hi*ch compoſic*i*on was not longe obſerved, but grewe to be the cauſe of greater outrage as ſhalbe declared hereafter; This *William de Valence* dyed after he had ben Earle xxxix yeeres, but his wiefe overlyveinge him was Counteſſe of *Pembrok*; and did all in her owne name vntill the yeere 1305 after she had ruled alone ix^en^ yeeres, she hadd by her huſband diu*er*ſe children./

St. Jones neere Tenby/.

Strife betwene the E: of Fenbrok and the L: of Kemes.

Fo. 15a, anc. 12a.

After the deceaſe of *Joan* the wiefe of *William de Valence*, her eldeſt ſonne *Aymer de Valence* was Earle of *Penbrok*, Lorde of *Weiſford* and *Mountchenſey*; he was a noble lorde, in his tyme and after that kinge *Edward* the firſt had conquered *Scotland*, this *Aymer de Valence* was made Lorde warden and governo*ur* of the ſaied Realme vnder him; Afterwardes he was the kinges Embaſador into *ffraunce*, he dyed there in *Anno:* 1323: he maryed Marie *doughter* to *Guye* earle of Sa*in*ct *Poule*; but had noe yſſue, ſoe that the cheefeſt parte of his greate poſſeſſions fell to *Lawrence hastings*, whoe was deſcended of his ſiſter *Iſabell de Valence*, and the reſidue fell to *Richard* lord *Talbott* and *Dauid Strobolgie* as deſcended of his other ſiſter *Jane* whoe maried *John* lord *Redcovyn.*/

Yt appeareth by an inquiſic*i*on founde after the death of the ſaied *Aymer de Valence An(n)o* 17 Ed: 2: as followeth, *Qui dicunt ſuper ſacramentum ſuum quod Adomarus de valencia nuper comes*

The Earle of Penbrok by tenure is to beare a Swoorde at the Coronation./

[1] The royal hunting lodge in Sherwood Forest, now called *Clipstone*. An exemplification, dated 23 Jan., 7 Jac. I, of this deed is at Bronwydd.

Pembroch tenuit Comitatum Pembroch· cum pertinen(tiis) in dominico ſuo vt de feodo die quo obijt de d(omi)no Rege in capite per ſervicium portandi gladium d(omi)ni Regis coram d(i)c(t)o d(omi)no Rege qui pro tempore fuerit die Coronac(i)o(n)is ſue.|

Lawrence haſtings the ſonne of *John haſtings* whoſe mother was *Iſabell* the 'ldeſt ſiſter* of *Aymer de Valence* as next heire to the ſaid *Aymer* obtained the Earledome of *Pembrok·* and *lordſhip* of *Weiſford:* he was at that tyme verye younge and the kinge gave his wardſhip to ladye *Iſabel de Burgo* ladye of *Clare*, ſoe that dureinge his minoritie ſhe was *cuſtos* of the Earldome of *Pembrok;* he confirmed the Charter and liberties of *Tenby* with a newe augmentac*i*on he maryed *Agnes doughter* to *Roger* †*Mortymer* Lorde of *Wygmor* and within three yeres after he dyed leaveinge on only ſonne ſcarce two yeeres ould at the tyme of his deceaſe he was earle xxiiii yeeres and dyed in *Anno* 1347: 21: *Edwardi tertii|*

* Originally 'doughter'.

Fo. 15b, anc. 12b.

John the only ſonne of *Lawrence haſtings* ſucceeded his father in the titles of *Pembrok· Weiſford* and Lorde *Abergeuenye* dureinge his minoritie the kinge appointed on Sir *John hakelute* knight to be cuſtos of the Earldome of *Penbrok:* and after this Earle maried firſt *Margerett* the *doughter* of kinge *Edward:* 3: but ſhee dyeinge within three yeeres after without yſſue, after he maried *Agnes* the *doughter* of *Water de Manny;* but ſhortely after he was ſent by the kinge into *ffraunce* beinge xxvii yeeres ould with a greate power to raiſe the ffrenche ſeidge before *Rochell* but by chaunce beinge ſett vpon by a ffleete of *Spaniards* he was by them taken priſoner and carried into *Spaine*, where he remained about two yeeres in priſon and was by them ſould to a nobleman of *ffraunce* named *Bertram Cleyken* counſtable of *ffraunce* but at his departure they poyſoned him at a Banquett, ſoe that ſhortelye after his comeinge into *ffraunce* he dyed after his Ranſome was brought to *Calles* beinge 6000 ffranckes· he was earle xxviii^tie^ yeeres and dyed in *An(n)o* 1375: haveinge on ſonne ſcarce iii yeeres old then lyveinge; Greate controverſies grewe betweene this *John* lo: *haſtings* and *Nicholas de Audeley* then lo: of *Kemes* touchinge the claimes and liberties of the *Lordship* of *Kemes*, w*hi*ch controverſies had ben on foote before and partely pacified, as before is declared, the ſaied Earle of *Penbrok* claimeing the ſaid L*ordſhi*p to be holden of him, as of his Earldome, and by collor therefore pretended to have diu*er*ſe Iuriſdictions within the ſame, w*hi*ch were all gaineſaid and withſtood by the Lord *Audeleigh*, affirmeinge that he held the ſaid baronye of *Kemes* of

Striſe betwine the E: of Penbrok and the L: of Kemes ended by the Kinge and Counſell.|

the Crowne of *England*, and that the ſaied Earle nor his Aunceſtours by Collor of anye ſuch tenure ought not to intende[1] or meddle within the ſaid L*ordſhi*p of *Kemes*: w*hi*ch matters grewe to that height that it cold not be pacified vntill both parties were required by kinge Ed: 3: to pacifie them ſelves and to ende thoſe cauſes, by ſome good meanes, where vpon they referred the controverſies betweene them to be hard and decided by the ſaied kinge Ed: 3: and his privie Counſell, but before anye thinge was donne the kinge and the ſaied Lo: *haſtinges* dyed, wherevpon the cauſes were againe referred to kinge *Richard:* 2: and to the lo*rds* of his privie Counſell by whome a fynall ende was made & theire adwarde publiſhed vnder the greate ſeale of Engl*and* as by the ſame yett extante to be ſeene may[2] appeare./

†*John haſtinges* the yonger ſucceeded his father in all his honours but for that he was verye younge the kinge gave the keepeinge of the Earldome of *Pembrok* to *William lord Bewchamp*; this *John haſtings* maried *Phillippa* do*ughter* of *Edmound Mortimer*, her mother was *Phillippa* do*ughter* to *Lyonell* duke of *Clarence*, This Earle beinge with kinge *Richard* the ſecond at *Woodſtock* in the Chriſtmas as he was learneinge to runne at Tylt, was by miſhappe ſlain with a ſpeare w*hi*ch is verye frinde the Lo: *S*t *John* threw from him, ſoe that he dyed without yſſue in *An*(*n*)*o* 1389: after he had ben Earle xiiij yeeres his greate inheritaunce fell to his kinſman Sir *Edward haſtings* knight, whoe for ſome diſpleaſure the kinge bare towardes him was caſt into the fleete, where he dyed, without yſſue; and the kinge ſeaſed all the inheritaunce belongeinge to the ſaied *John hastings* into his handes, thoughe afterwardes the Lord *Reygnold graie of Ruthen* made claime to the ſame as next heire then lyveinge of *John haſtings* and *Elizabeth Valence*,: Thus was the Earldome of *Pembrok* and L*ordſhi*p of *Weiſford* taken from the right heires by kinge *Richard* after the ſaied Earledome had contynued in on familye by diſcent 280 yeeres, w*hi*ch kinge *Richarde* as it ſeemeth retained and kept the ſaied Earledome in his owne handes viii*te* yeeres, But as yett I can finde noe recorde but by computac*i*on of yeeres it ſeemeth to fall out ſoe,.

Fo. 16a, anc. 13a.

In *Anno* 1397 kinge *Richard* 2: gave the Earledome of *Penbrok* to his wiefe Queene *Iſabell*, and vnder her *Thomas Percye* · Earle of *Worceſter* and lorde of *hauerford* was made *Cuſtos* of the Earl-

Queene Iſabell countes of Penbrok.

[1] Claim.

[2] As to this and the former 'ſtrife' mentioned in page 23, see the documents published with the *Baronia*.

dome, which they enioyed till the comeinge in of kinge *Henry* the fourthe whoe tooke all againe into his handes./

John Duke of Bedford.

Henrye the fourthe gave the Earldome of *Pembrok* to his ſonne *John*, who was after duke of *Bedford*, but he dyeinge without yſſue *Humfrey* duke of *Glouceſter* his brother ſucceeded him as next heire, and was Earle of *Pembrok ;* This *John* duke of *Bedforde* in the fift yeere of kinge *Henry* the fift was by Acte of parliament made regende of *England* and heade of the commonwealthe dureinge the kinges abode in *ffraunce*, and in the v^te^ yeere of kinge *henry* vi^e^ he was made regende of *ffraunce*, he fought the battle[1] of *Vernoile* in *Perche* where he tooke priſoner the duke of *Alenſon* gen*er*all of the ffrenchmen iii other lordes, iii^ce^[2] knightes, two hundred gentlemen: and there was then †killed of the ffrenche foure earles x lordes, on Viſcounte, There were allſoe ſlaine and taken that daie of the *Scottes* that came to ayde the ffrenche one duke, two earles, tenn Scottiſhe knights and xxvii^c^[3] Scottes of name and Armes, ſoe that by accounte of heraldes there were ſlaine in that battle of ffrench and Scottiſhe Nine thouſande and vii hundred, This noble duke of *Bedford* dyed the xiii^th^ yeere of kinge *henry* the vi^te^ and lyeth honorableye buryed in the Cathedrall church of *Nostre Dame* in *Roane*[4] in *Normandie* in the north ſide of the highe Alter there, where was erected a ſumptuous and coſtlye monument yett extante agreable to the noblenes of his parſon./

Fo. 16b, anc. 13b.

Humfrey Duke of Glouceſter.

Humfrey duke of *Glouceſter* brother to the ſaid *John* duke of *Bedford* ſucceeded him as next heire and was Earle of *Penbrok :* This *Humffrey* after that he had maryed *Ælianor Cobham* gave her the Earledome of *Pembrok* ſoe that from thenceforth ſhe was in all deedes Iointe with him by the name of *Elianor* Counteſſe of *Penbrok*, he deceaſed the xxiiii^th^ of *ffebruary in An(n)o* 1447 leaveinge noe yſſue behinde him ; At which tyme he was duke of *Glouceſter* Earle of *Pembrok* and lorde chamberlaine of *England*, and lorde of manye other honours, he was made protector of *England* dureinge the kinges mynoritie, this is he that was called the good duke of *Glouceſter ;* the praiſe of this good man is ſett forthe at lardge by mr. ffox[5] in his firſt volume *pagina* 704 he lyeth buryed at *St. Albons* as ſaith *holinghead* :[6]

Imediatlye upon the deceaſe of *Duke Humffrey* the Earldome of *Penbrok* was by kinge H: 6: given to *William de la Poole*, whoe then was advanced to the title of Duke of *March* · Earle of *Suffolk* and

[1] In 1424. [2] Three. [3] Twenty-seven hundred.
[4] Rouen. [5] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, Cattley ed., iii, 711.
[6] Holinshed, Hen. VI, A.D. 1447.

Penbrok· and lord Chamberlaine of *England* which honours he enioyed but a ſhorte ſpace, for at the next Parliament beinge in *An(n)o* 1450 he was baniſhed the Realme and ſhipped in Suffolck entendinge to paſſe into *ffraunce* but was take by on[1]
Capten of a ſhippe of warre, w*hi*ch the Duke of *Exceter* had on the ſeas, This Captaine brought him backe againe into *Dover* roade, and there cauſed his heade to be chopped of vpon a Cocke boate[2] his bodie after was buryed· †at *Wingfield* Colledge in *Suffolk;* then came the Earl dome againe into the kinges handes, whoe held it two yeeres in his poſſeſſion; the cauſe of his deathe was that he ſhould be on that procured the death of *Humffrey* duke of *Glouceſter*, and that he with *Saye;* Buſhopp of *Sarum·* and *Treuilian* labored and procured the geaveinge over of the dukedome of *Aniowe* and the Earldome of *Mayne* to the *ffrench* kinge/ Fo. 17a, anc. 14a.

Kinge *Henrye* the ſixt *Anno Regni ſui xxxi^o^ et Anno Domini* 1452 on Twelfedaie Created his brother *Jaſper Tudyr*[3] beinge his brother by his mother ſide, Earle of *Pembrok*, geveinge the ſaid Earldome to him and to the heires male of his bodie, whoe enioyed the ſame about vii yeeres vntill that *Edward* the fourth depoſed the ſaied kinge *henry* from the Crowne *Ano:* 1461; at w*hi*ch tyme the ſaid *Jaſper* was attainted of Treaſon and fled the Realme; But after the fleeinge of *Jaſper* Earle of *Pembrok* out of the Realme, kinge *Edward* the fourth gave the ſame Earledome of *Pembrok* to *William* lorde *Herbert* beinge the cheefeſt ſubiecte that then deffended the rightfull title of the houſe of *York;* and Created him Earle of Penbrok, Reciteinge amonge greate and acceptable ſervice of the ſaid lorde *herbert* three cheife and principall cauſes of his Creation; The firſt cauſe for fightinge and forceinge to flight the ſaid *Jaſper* Earle of *Pembrok·* and other Rebells his adherentes; The ſecond for beſeigeinge and wynninge the kinges Caſtle of *Harleagh*,[4] then holden and kept from the kinge ever ſeethence he came to the Crowne, w*hi*ch Caſtle of *Harleigh* was the onlye refuge *Jaſper Tudyr.*

Cauſes of createinge William lo(rd) Herbert E. of Penbrok.

[1] A blank was left in the MS. for the name of the captain of the 'Nicholas of the Tower'.

[2] The cock-boat, or more properly cock, was the small boat attending on a vessel. The word 'cock' survives in *coxswain*.

[3] Sir Owen ap Tudor, +1461. = Catherine of France. = Henry V.

Edmund, Earl of Richmond, + 1456.	Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, + 1495.	Henry VI.
Henry VII.		

[4] Harlech Castle was surrendered to Sir Richard Herbert in 1468 by Davydd ab Jevan, who held it for the Lancastrians.

and receptacle of the Rebells then riſeinge againſt the kinge, and w*hi*ch for ſtrength both by Arte and nature was thought to be Impregnable, as in the l*ett*ers patentes of the ſaied kinge is lardglye declared and ſett forth,: The thirde cauſe was for that by the greate Valoure and prowes of the ſaied lorde *Herbert* all the reſidue of *Wales* w*hi*ch had riſen againſt the ſaied kinge *Edward* the fourth were ſubdued, and brought to yeld theire obedience vnto him ; this was in the third yeere of the ſaied kinge *Edwardes* Raigne ſoe that the ſaied Earledome remained three yeeres in the handes of kinge *Edward* the fourth before *William* lorde *Herbert* had the ſame.;

Fo. 17b, anc. 14b.

†*William lorde Herbert* was a noble gentleman and in his tyme the onlye and entire comaunder of *Wales*, for that he was that Countreyman borne and paternallye deſcended for diu*er*ſe deſcentes of that Ancient Brittiſhe line; and here is to noted that ſeethence the conqueſt of the *Normans*, this was the firſt man that was by name and by diſcente a Brittaine that ever was advaunced to title of hono*u*r and as yett to this tyme there hath none w*hi*ch was a Welſhman or Brittaine by name and diſcent that hath ben advaunced to anye degree or title of honor ſaveinge the ſaied lord *Herbert* and certaine of his yſſue the *Herbertes;* he was the firſt that was called Lord *Herbert*, his name beinge before Sir *William Thomas*,[1] And of this Lord *Herbert* and of that worthie knight Sir *Richard Herbert* his brother are all the *Herbertes* deſcended; This *William* Earle of *Penbrok* · after manye noble and acceptable ſervices don to the ſaied kinge *Edward* the fourthe in the troble-ſome tyme of the Civill warres was taken at *Banbury* field *Ano: domini:* 1469: 9: E: 4 together with his brother Sir *Richard Herbert* and manye other noble Captaines were then taken by greate miſſortune and ſhortely put to death: The ſaied Earle ma*rried Ann* do*ughte*r to Sir *Water Deuerevx* knight and had yſſue

First of the Brittains aduaunced to honore.

Banbury fielde.

[1] Sir William ap Thomas.

- William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, + 1469.
  - Sir Richard Herbert.
    - William, E. of Pembroke, + 1565, ancestor of present Earls.
    - Sir George Herbert. = Elizabeth Barkley.
      - William Owen of Henllys. = Elizabeth.
        - George Owen.
- Sir Richard Herbert, ancestor of the Lords Herbert of Cherbury.

a ſonne and heire called *William* whoe inherited after his father, Sir *Water Herbert* knight that dyed without yſſue, And Sir *George Herbert* knight of whome the *Herbertes* of *S^t Julians* are deſcended, he had alſoe by the ſaied Ladye ix^en doughters, *Margett* Counteſſe of *Liſley; Mawdelein* that maried *Henry Percy* Earle of *Northumberland; Katheryn* maryed to the Lord *Graye* Earle of *Kente, Anne* maryed to the lord *Powys, Cicely* maried to the baron of *Greiſtock· Anne* maried to Sir *Thomas Cockſey* of whoſe bodies the greateſt nomber of the nobillitye nowe lyveinge are deſcended; the reſt dyed without yſſue; This *William* lorde *Herbert* Earle of *Pembrok* brought backe againe the L*ordſh*ips of *Chepstowe* or *Strugull Tretowre, Kryghowell, Penkelly*[1] and diuerſe other L*ordſh*ips in that Countrey, which in tymes paſt had ben the lyveinges of the *Strongbowes* Earles of *Strugull* and Ancient Earles of *Pembrok*· and had ben ſevered from the ſaied Earles of *Pembrok* and fell to on of the doughters of *William Marſhall*· Earle of *Pembrok:* as appeareth before./ †whoe maryed eyther with *William* lorde *Bruſe* or *hugh Bigod* w*hi*ch of both I am not as yett certaine, for *Mowbrey* duke of *Norffolk* was after heire to them both by sev*er*all mariadges, from which *Mowbrey* the ſaid *William* lord *Herbert* and Earle of Pembrok optained the ſaid L*ordſh*ips, of *Chepſtowe, Strugull Tretowre, Krighowell, Pencelly* in exchaunge for other landes in *England;* The ſaied *William* Earle of *Pembrok* beinge taken priſoner and put to deathe his bodie was brought to the Abbey of *Tyntern* in *Mounmowthſhere* and there interred: w*hi*ch Abbey was of the foundac*i*on of his Anceſto*ur*s Earles of *Strugull:* Fo. 18a, anc. 15a.

After the death of the ſaid *William* Earle of Pembrok. *William* his ſonne ſucceeded him in the ſaid Earledome, but he enioyed the ſame but a ſmall while, that is to ſaie, vntill king h: 6: was reſtored by meanes of the Earle of *Warwick* and held a parliam*en*t the *xxvj* of *November An(n)o primo reſtitutionis h: 6: et decimo Edw. quarti* 1470: in w*hi*ch parliam*en*t *Jasper* Earle of *Penbrok* was reſtored to the ſaied Earledome, and in lieu thereof the ſaid *William* Earle of *Pembrok*· was created Earle of *Huntington:* but the ſaied *Jaſper* enioyed the ſame Earledome at that time but a ſhorte ſpace, for in Aprill followinge *vid(elice)t/ An(n)o d(omi)ni* 1471 kinge *Edward* the fourth at *Barnett* field *An(n)o regni ſui ii^o* tooke kinge *henry* priſoner the ſecond tyme, at which tyme Earl *Jaſper* then was come to his Earledome of *Pembrok;* where he founde the younge Earle of *Richmound* his Nephewe, whoe was afterwardes king *henry* the

[1] In Brecknockshire.

vij[th] remaineinge with the ould Counteſſe of *Pembrok·* hon*or*ablye brought vpp beinge then ſcarce x[en] yeeres ould w*hi*ch *Jaſper* then remaineinge in *Wales* haveinge beheaded *Sir Roger Vaughan* afterwardes was beſieged in *Pembrok* by *Morgan Thomas* a brother to Sir *Rees ap thomas* but beinge reſcued by *Dauid Thomas* an other brother to Sir *Rees ap Thomas* was with his Nephewe the younge Earle of *Richmonde* convayed to the town of *Tenby* vj miles from *Penbrok;* and there were ſhipped and convayed to *Brittaine*[1] where they remained until the returninge of the ſaid Earle of *Richmond* when he recou*er*ed the Crowne from kinge *Richard* the third:/

Fo. 18b, anc. 15b.

After the departure of *Jaſper* from *Tenby* as is aforeſaid *William* †*Herbert* that had ben Earle of *Penbrok* and was then Earle of *Huntington* as it ſeemeth made noe claime to the Earldome of *Pembrok* but contented himſelfe with the title of *Huntington:* w*hi*ch appeared in that kinge *Edward* the fourth made his ſonne prince *Edward whoe* was afterwardes kinge *Edward·* the fift Earle of Pembrok· as appeareth by a Charter of Confirma*ci*on and graunte of liberties made by him to the Towne of *Tenby* and *Hauerfordweſt* as alſoe by diu*er*ſe other matters of recorde of that tyme yett extant to be ſeene: w*hi*ch prince *Edward* enioyed the ſame Earledome, as well before he was kinge, as after vntill his deathe; This kinge *Edward* the fifte when he was yett but prince of *Wales* and Lord of *hauerfordweſt* before he was kinge of *England* by the comaundem*en*t of his father the adviſe of his Counſell and licenſe of his mother, for ſoe are the wordes of his graunte, graunted to the Burgeſſes of *hauerfordweſt* such greate and ample liberties as the ſaied Towne enioyeth; he firſt made the ſame a Countye graunted them to have a Maio*ur* and Sheriffe graunted them to hold all pleas reall, and of the Crowne, that the Maio*ur* of the Towne ſhould be Juſtice of peace, Coroner Admirall, Clerke of the Markett, and diu*er*ſe other liberties to longe here to recite./

Hauerfordweſt a Countie.

Richard the thirde after the death of kinge Edw: 5: held the ſame Earledome as Earle of *Pembrok;* and the ſaied Rich: 3: confirmed the Charters of Tenby and *hauerfordweſt* made by the ſaied prince *Edward* and enioyed the ſame vntill he was ſlaine by king H: 7:

Then came *Jaſper* to his Earledome againe the third tyme & enioyed yt vntill his death, whoe dyed without Iſſue; ſoe that all his inheritaunce came to his Nephewe kinge *Henry* the ſeventh as next haire to the ſaied *Jaſper.*

After the death of *Jaſper* kinge *Henrie* the vij[th] beinge kinge and

[1] Brittany.

holdinge the Earldome of *Pembrok* gave the ſame to prince *Henrie* his ſonne, whoe enioyed the ſame before he was kinge of *Englande* and when he came to the Crowne he paſſed all things within the ſaied Earldome vnder the ſeale of the ſaid Earledome and by the name of Earle of *Pembrok*: and not as kinge vnder †the greate ſeale of *England*, and ſoe he continued Earle vntill the xxvij^th^ yeere of his Raigne that *Wales* was reduced into ſheere grounde and the aucthorities Royall of all L*ordſh*ips Marchers in *Wales* were diſſolved by Acte of parliament and reſumed to the kinges handes ; at w*hi*ch tyme the great and lardge auctoritie and Iuriſdiction Royal of the Earles of *Pembrok* beinge all waies before a Countye palantine were diſſolved and the Earles that have ben ſeethence the ſaied ſtatute have onlye had but the name and dignitie of honor as other Earles of *England* have of theire Earledomes, whereas before that tyme all the Earle there were as abſolute princes of themſelves, and executed all Iuriſdiction, made all writtes and proces in theire owne names by theire owne officers, and pardoned all felonyes, murders and other offences, made Sheriffes, Coroners, Eſchetou*r*s, Chaunceloursrs, Chamberlaines and all other officers, and receaved all the rentes profittes and perqueſitts of the Countye to theire owne vſes and the prince or kinge receaved nothinge therehence/. Fo. 19a, anc. 16a.

The Royall Juriſdiction of the Countie of Pembrok diſſolued.

The Iuriſdiction of the ſaid Erledome of *Pembrok* beinge by Acte of parliament aforeſaied ſoe diſſolved and reſumed into kinge *henry* the eightes handes, he then receaved all the rentes yſſues and profittes belongeinge to the ſaied Earledome as he did before, but after the ſaied ſtatute graunted and paſſed all thinges within the ſaied Countey or Earledome as kinge of *England;* and vnder the greate ſeale of *England* and not as Earle of *Pembrok;* and the former Courtes vſed in Anciente tyme there, were taken awaie, and were vtterlye diſſolved and extinct ſaveinge the Courte of the Manou*r* beinge the meaneſt Courte of the ſaied Countey called the Courte of the Caſtle gate, w*hi*ch ſome fewe tymes ſeethence hath ben kept by the ſteward there, but in effect nowe diſcontynued,: But the Seſſions and the Countye holden by the ſtewarde the Ancient comon place, Chancerye and Eſchequer were cleene aboliſhed and taken to be diſſolved by the ſaied ſtatute, and never ſeethence vſed, and newe Courtes errected in theire ſteedes by the ſaied †Statute, as the greate Seſſ*io*ns to be holden in eche Countye of *Wales* twiſe eu*er*ye yeere by the kinges Iuſtices there, a Countye Courte holden monethly nowe before the Sheriffe onlye as is vſed in *England*, to which greate ſeſſions there is alſoe provided by the ſaied Statute a Fo. 19b, anc. 16b.

Chancerye for originall writtes, which followeth the faied greate Seſſions/[1]

In which ſorte the ſaid Earldome of *Pembrok* remained in the hands of kinge H: 8: and after him in the handes of kinge *Edward:* 6: vntill the xj[th] daie of October in the v[th] yeere of the Raigne of the ſaied kinge Edw: *An(n)o d(omi)ni* 1551: that he created *Sir William Herbert* knight m*aſte*r of the horſe, and on of the pryvie Counſell Earle of *Pembrok* geaveinge him the name and hono*ur* onlye as other Earles in *England* nowe have, by theire Earldomes, but retaineinge both the Iuriſdiction and the Ancient Revenues and patrimonye of the ſaid Earledome to himſelfe, w*hi*ch as yett are retained in the princes handes/:

William Herbert created Earle of *Pembrok* as aforeſaid was lyneallye deſcended from *William lorde herbert* that was Earle of *Pembrok*· in kinge Ed: 4: tyme as maye be ſeene by the genelogie thereof· he was in his tyme a worthie gentleman and lyved in greate honor and creaditte, he was of the pryvie Chamber to kinge h: 8: and maryed the Queenes ſiſter and at the death of the ſaied kinge he made him on of his executo*ur*s: he was m*aſte*r of the horſe to kinge Ed: 6: he was twiſe lord preſident of the Counſell eſtabliſhed in the Marches of *Wales*· he was alſoe lieutenau*n*te of the armyes againſt the Rebells in the *Weſt* Countrey· and againſt the inſurrection of *Wyett* and generall of the Engliſhe forces at *S[t] Quintens*[2]; twiſe governo*ur* of *Callys*[3]; he was of the pryvie Counſell to kinge *Edward; Queene Mary*· and to o*ur* Soveraigne ladie *Elizabeth*· he dyed in the yeere of o*ur* lord god 1565 and in the lxiii yeere of his age beinge then Earle of *Pembrok*· lord ſteward of her m*aie/tie*s houſhold, knight of the garter, and on of the pryvie Counſell, and lyeth buryed in the Northſide of the Chauncell above
Fo. 20a, anc. 17a. the quire in *Powles*[4] at *London* as maye be †ſeene by a faire monumente erected there for his memoriall leaveinge yſſue behinde him *Henry* Earle of *Pembrok*, Sir *Edward Herbert* knight and the ladye *Ann* maryed to the Lord *Talbott* all three begotten on the body of the Lady *Ann Parr* ſiſter to Queene *Katheryn Parr* wiefe to kinge H: 8: and ſiſter to Sir *William Parr* marques of *Northampton* Earle of *Eſſex* lord *Roſe* of *Kendall* Lord *Marmeon*, St. Quinten and *Parr* and knight of the Garter:

Henry ſonne and heire to the ſaied *William herbert* Earle of

[1] The Courts of Great Sessions were abolished by the 11 Geo. IV, and 1 Will. IV, cap. 70.

[2] The English and Spaniards defeated the French at St. Quentin, 1557.

[3] Calais.

[4] Old St. Paul's.

Penbrok · Lord herbert of Cardiffe, Marmeon and *S^t Quinten* ſucceeded him in the ſaied hono*u*rs, whoe enioyed the ſame, beinge alſoe Lorde preſident of the principallitie and dominion of *Wales*, and lorde leiuetenante generall of all the principallitie and dominion of *Wales* · and the Marches of the ſame, and knight of the noble order of the Garter ; who dyed at *Wilton* the xix^th daie of *January Ano: domini* 1600: and in the xliii^th yeere of the Raigne of Queene *Elizabeth*, and lyeth buryed in the Cathedrall church at *Newe Sarum*[1] and after him *William* Earle of *Pembrok* his ſone and heire ſucceeded his father to his title, honor & lyveinge beinge at his fathers deathe of the age of xx yeeres and odd monthes :,

†The ſaied Countrey of *Penbrokſhere* is vſuallye called, *Little England beyonde Wales* and that not vnworthilye, and therefore I thinke good to ſhewe my opinion whie the ſame was ſoe called : Mr. *Camden*[2] calleth it *Anglia Tranſwallina*, the reaſons whie it tooke that name may well be coniectured, for that the moſt parte of the Countrey ſpeacketh Engliſhe, and in yt noe vſe of the welſhe; The names of the people are meere Engliſhe eche familye followinge the Engliſhe faſhion in ſurnames, : Theire buildinges are Engliſhe like, in Townreddes and villages and not in ſeu*er*all and lone houſes :, Theire dyett is as the Engliſhe people vſe, as the comon foode is, Beefe mutton pigge, gooſe, lambe, veale, and kydd w*hi*ch vſuallye the pooreſt huſbandman doth daylye feede on,: The names of the Countrey places are alltogether Engliſhe, as *Wiston, Picton, Haroldſton, Robeston, Johnſton, Williamſton, Norton, Weſton, South hill, South hooke*[3] &c.

Fo. 20b, anc. 17b. *Litle England beyondeWales.*

Soe that a ſtraunger travellinge from *Englande* and haueing rydden foure ſcore miles and more in *Wales*, haveinge harde noe Engliſhe, nor Engliſhe names of people, or of places and comeinge hither to *Penbrokſhere* where he ſhall here nothing but Engliſhe, and ſeeinge the reſt before agreable to *England*, would thinke

[1] Salisbury.

[2] Camden, *sub. tit.* "Dimetae, Pembrokeshire", speaking of Rowse, says, "Thus their (the Flemings') little territory is called by the Britains 'Little England beyond Wales'."

[3] Many of these names are not 'alltogether Englishe', but of Flemish or Norse origin. 'Hook', very common in the county, is the equivalent probably of the Lincolnshire *Hough* and *Hog;* cf. Streatfeild, *Lincolnshire and the Danes*, p. 113. See note, page 17, above.

that *Wales* were envyroned with *England*, and would Imagine he had travelled throughe *Wales* and came into *England* againe :/

Theſe reaſons and alſoe for that moſt of the Anciente gentlemen came thither out of *England* as before is declared might verye fittlye procure it the name of *litle England beyonde Wales;* but one thinge more ere I give over here, which p*er*ſwadeth me much to thinke that it was in Anciente tyme in Judgment of the lawes of *England* held as parte of *England;* for whereas *Wales* was in the eye of the lawe of *England*, holden to be a kingdome of it ſelf, and noe parte of the kingdome of *Englande*, and therefore the lawe Courtes of *Westm(inſter)* wold not nor cold not direct proces, to
Fo. 21a, anc. 18a. the officers of *Wales*, for that theſe †Courtes, did not hold *Wales* within, or subiect to theire Iuriſdiction,: and there vpon is grounded the *Maxime quod breve d(omi)ni Regis non currit in Walliam*, yett it is manifeſt that the kinges write in Ancient tyme did runne into *Pembrokſhere*, for it appeereth by the newe booke of Entryes[1] *folio:* 229. that a plea of dower dependinge in the Countye Courte of *Penbrok· An(n)o* 2: h: 6: was removed to the Courte of comon pleas at *Westm(inſter)* by a writte directed to the Earle of Pembrok to remove the cauſe :· *Humffrey* duke of *Gloucester* beinge then Earle of *Penbrok* wherevpon as yt appearethe the ſaid record was removed./

Alſoe it is apparent that *Tempore* Ed: 3. ffynes were levyed in the Comon place at *Westm(inſter)* of landes in *Pembrokſhere* and in the ſaid newe booke of Entryes *fo:* 74: *ti:*[2] *aſſiſe in office* that in *Anno* 3: h: 6: yt alſoe appeareth that an Aſſiſe was brought before the Iustices at *Westm(inſter)* for the office of the Counſtableſhippe of the Caſtle of *Lawhaden*,: as alſoe by manye other Ancient matters of recorde it appeareth that contrarye to the former *maxime* the kinges writte did runne in Anciente tyme into *Wales*, as thoughe the lawe did then Accompt *Pembrokſhere* as parte of *England* and not anye parte of *Wales:* and ſoe might alſoe the rather be tearmed, *litle England :*

[1] Rastell's *Entries*, pub. 1596.

[2] *Sub titulo.*

What *Nations and people Inhabited this Countrey in Anciente tyme, and from whence the nowe Inhabiters are anciently deſcended and from what Countreys and places and when and howe they cam thither:* Cap: 3:

Fo. 21b, anc. 18b.

What people hath ben ſent hether into *Pembrokſhere* to inhabite the ſame, is partlye toched before in the ſhort diſcription of the ſheere in the Catalogue of the Earles of *Pembrok:* and of the Normans and ffleminges that were brought, thether by *Arnolphe Mountgomerie*, Earle *Strongbow*, and the flemings ſent thither by H: 1: and kinge *Stephen*,: But to diſcourſe ſomewhat more particularlye thereof yt is to be vnderſtoode that before the comeinge of *William* the conquerror into *England*· the ſame was quietlye[1] poſſeſſed and enioyed by the Ancient Brittaignes the welſhmen ſoe nowe called,: whoe were the firſt inhabiters that anye notice is harde of, of whome there is to this daie manye Ancient gentlemen w*hi*ch can by good aucthoritie deryve themſelues from diu*er*ſe famowſe and Illouſtriouſe famelyes, that did poſſeſſe greate patrymonyes in this Countrey, as ſhall appeare in the p*ar*ticuler places where I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeake thereof hereafter, where[2] I treate of their proper habitac*i*ons and houſes.; Theſe Ancient Inhabiters had for their ſou*er*aignes the princes of *Wales*· liveinge in those daies, to whom they yelded their whole obedience, not knowinge anye ſuperior in earthe; vntill ſhortly after the conqueſt, the Normans haueinge ſubdued and ſubplanted the Saxon kinges and Nobles, out of *England* thirſted likewiſe for the right & Countrey of the welſhe princes, and began to make warres vpon them alſoe, and daielye intruded their borders, and giveinge ſuch parte of the Countrey to the Lordes of *Englande*· as they would or could wynne, and keepe from the Welſhmen; Whereby diu*er*ſe Engliſhe lordes wone from the princes of *Wales;* and their ſubiectes whole Countreys in *Wales;* and builded Caſtles, Townes

[1] The Norse had made a strong permanent settlement, and the Saxon invaders had left their traces.

[2] In chapter v of the Second Book (never published).

and ſtrongeholdes ; and peopled the ſame with Engliſhe gariſons to keepe the ſame, : by this meanes *fitzhamon* wonne the Countrey
Fo. 22a, anc. 19a. of *Glamorgan*, †*Bernard Newmarche*, *Brecknocke* ; *Hamelyn de Baladon* the L*ord*ſhip of *Abergeueny* ; *Londres* the Countrey of
Conquerours of Wales :/ *Kidwely*, : *Lacies* earles of *Lincolne* the L*ordſh*ip of *Denbigh* ; *Greyes* ; : the L*ordſh*ip of *Ruthin Mortimers*, *Bromfield* and *Yale*, : *Brewiſe* the L*ordſh*ips of *Gower* and *Buellt*, *Martine Towers* · the L*ordſh*ip of *Kemes*, : and to conclude, by this meanes came *Arnolph Mountgomerie* and *Gilberte Strongbow* to *Dyvett*, or our *Pembrokſhere* ; and ſubdueinge yt planted there his Norman gentlemen, and others he brought with him, whoſe yſſues enioye diu*er*ſe L*ord*ſh*ips* and manou*r*s then given to them by thoſe theire Lordes, to this daie, : but as for the ffleminges as I ſaid before, there is noe ſhewe of anye remnant of them left, for yf anye of theire progenie be remaineinge, yett is the memorie thereof with theire language[1] quite forgotten, but I am p*er*ſwaded that diu*er*ſe of the comon people ſwaines and laborers of the Countrey are deſcended of thoſe fleminges, for ſome reaſons that induceth me ſoe to thinke, w*hi*ch I will in more apt places, declare hereafter, : That w*hi*ch p*er*ſwadeth me to thinke that the moſt parte of the gentlemen of the ſheere
Normans and Saxons in Penbrokſhere. nowe lyveinge are rather Normans then anye other nac*i*on, is, theire names w*hi*ch moſt comonly in the begineinge was copled with theſe ffrenche Articles, *De: la:* or *De* or *fitz* and ſuch like, w*hi*ch doe manifeſt theire diſcentes to be of the frenche, yett notwithſtandinge manye of them yf not *maior pars.* were Saxons, for otherwiſe the Engliſhe tongue had not ben theire comon and mother ſpeache as it was, for the Conqueror brought with him for the moſt parte ; meere ffrenchmen, and purpoſed to haue vnrooted the Saxon or Engliſhe tongue out of *England*, with the Engliſhmen themſelfes, as maye be perceaved amonge manye other thinges by his turninge of theire lawes into the ffrenche ; and ſoe longe after the Conqueſt the Engliſhe Tongue was had in ſuch contempte that the better ſorte refuſed to ſpeake it, and thoſe that vſed to ſpeake Engliſhe were yett vſed to writte eche to other in the french tongue as it is vſed nowe amonge the Welſhmen, whiche allthoughe they vſuallye ſpeacke the welſhe tongue, yett will they writte eche to other in Engliſhe, and not in the ſpeache they vſuallye talke ; The reaſon is the vſe they haue to writte in the one, and not vſeinge to writte in the other, and ſoe was the Engliſhe growne out
Fo. 22b, anc. 19b. of vſe, for the ſpace of c: or cc yeeres after the conqueſt, and †vſed onlye amonge the baſeſt ſorte of people, the noble and gentlemen

[1] See note, p. 17, above.

vſeinge onlye the frenche tongue, and of thoſe l*ett*res in french I can yett ſhewe ſome verye Ancient written betweene thoſe that by all likelyhood and preſumption did not vnderſtande the language but onlye for that the clerkes which wrote theſe l*ett*res were as vnapt to writte in Engliſhe as the welſhmen at this daie in theire owne language, and by this theire Engliſhe ſpeache here in *Penbrokſhere* I gather that the greateſt parte of theſe people that came into *Pembrokſhere* with theſe Earles were Saxons and Engliſhmen, and it is verye like that the conqueror haueinge purpoſe to ſupplante the Engliſhe nation out of *England* · would rather Imploye them and the ffleminges in the warres againſt the welſhmen then the ffrenchmen, he brought with him; ſaveinge ſuch as were of accompt and w*hi*ch he ment to p*re*ferre by the ſervice; I haue therefore to Confirme my aſſertion herein as alſoe to the ende that theſe names, w*hi*ch I coniecture were frenche, and w*hi*ch I finde to be of Anciente tyme men of ſorte[1] in *Pembrokſhere;* maye not be buryed in oblivion, gathered ſome fewe w*hi*ch followe,[2] and for the reſt, I referre you to them in theire particular places when I come to treate of theire habitac*i*ons://:

[1] Rank; see Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*, iv, 4.

[2] This list was, unfortunately, not supplied.

Fo. 23a, anc. 20a.

That *the Countrey nowe Inhabited by three ſeuerall nations, as welſhmen the remnant of the Ancient Brittaines and firſt Inhabiters of ye Countrey: Engliſhmen brought thether at the conqueſt thereof, & by Iriſhmen* which *doe daielye ferrye over thether out of Ireland & of the language ſpooken by theſe three ſeuerall Nacions*, Cap: 4:

This ſhere is taken to be devided into two partes, that is to the Engliſhrie, and the welſhrye, as ſhalbe more lardglie declared hereafter in the particular chapter thereof, the vpper parte of the ſhere, w*hi*ch I call the welſhrye, is Inhabited, with welſhmen, the firſt, knowne owners of the Countrey, and are ſuch as were never removed by anye conqueſte, or ſtranger* that wone the Countrey,

The word first written *was* 'slaughter'.

These are the people of the hundreds of *Kemes*, *Kilgarran*, *Dewiſland;* and parte of *Narberth;;* in w*hi*ch hundreds there are of diu*er*ſe Ancient gentlemen, that to this daie do hold and keepe their ancient houſes and diſcentes from theire Anceſto*ur*s for 400. 500: 600 yeeres and more, for notwithſtandinge that *Kemes* was conquered by *Martyn Towres*, yett for that the people of the Countrey did not hold out, till the vttermoſt, but yelded after on Battle, he gave[1] diuerſe of them theire Ancient landes to hold of him, and did not vtterlye vnroote them, as was done with the Inhabiters of *Rowſe*, *Narberth; Castlemartyne*, and parte of *Dongledy*, and Engliſhmen planted in theire Roomes, and therefore the Inhabitantes of *Kemes* doe vante of theire Anciente antiquitie, much before anye others of the ſheeres, accompting themſelves more Ancient gentlemen in the Countrey, then anye of those that came thither with *Strongbowe*, and theſe gentlemen have yett many Ancient famelyes in the Countrey, w*hi*ch p*re*ſerve their

[1] The privileges which part of the inhabitants of the district won by their ready submission are said still to exist in the rights of the freeholders to present to the livings alternately with the patron ; see Fenton, p. 523. Lewis attributes the submission to the marriage of Sir William Martin, the grandson of the invader, with Angharad, a daughter of the Lord Rhys, as mentioned below.

deſcentes to this daie and well knowne by good proffe of Ancient writtinges and recordes, that their Anceſto*u*rs have ben owners of thoſe landes they nowe enioye, manye yeeres before the comeinge of *Strongbowe* into this Countrey, w*hi*ch was in the tyme of kinge H: 1: alſoe it ſeemeth that an other cauſe moved him to ſuffer the Ancient Inhabiters, of *Kemes* to enioye theire patrimonyes, and made the welſhemen the more willinge to yeld theire obedience to him, is the agreement, w*hi*ch was made betweene his ſonne Sir *William Martyn* when he maryed the do*ughter* of the lorde *Rees ;* then lord of *Kemes* ; ſo that it ſhould ſeeme that the ſaied *William* cam to quiett poſſeſſion of the ſame, as well by †his owne match, as by the conqueſt of the ſame, and of this *Giraldus Cambrenſis* ſpeaketh[1] of the iniurioufe dealinge of the lord *Rees* with Sir *William Martyn*, when he purpoſed to breake with him for the Caſtle of *Neuarne*, but howe ſoever it fell out certaine it is that the Ancient men of *Kemes* were not vtterly diſtroyed, as the reſt before menc*i*oned, and therefore to this daie notwithſtandinge the Countrey was ſubdued, by an Engliſhe lord; yett doth the offpringe of the firſt inhabiters remaine there, and this is the cauſe that they retaine and keepe with theire inheritaunce theire anciente language, the welſhe :/ But for *Dewiſland* the ſame beinge longe before given[2] to the buſhops of *St Dauids* by the Ancient princes of *Wales*, the men of warre of that age accompted it a prophane and Impiouſe offence, to attempte anye thinge againſt the church, and therefore they remained in quiett, and the Countrey never haraged[3] by the Armyes, and theſe likewiſe retaine and vſe theire Ancient Language, the welſhe ; the like doth the Inhabitantes of *Kilgarran ;* by what meanes I knowe not, for ſure I am the ſame was woone by *William Marſhall*,:/ But the Countreys of *Rowſe*, *Castlemartyn Narberth* and moſt of *Dongledy* hundred, (the Buſhoppes L*ordſhi*ppes excepted,) were wholely put to fier and ſworde, by the Normans, ffleminges and Engliſhmen, and vtterly expelled the inhabitantes thereof, and peopled the Countrey them ſelues, whoſe poſteritie remaine there to this daie, as may appeere by theire names, maners and language, ſpeaking alltogether the Engliſhe, and differinge in maners, diett, buildinges, and tyllinge of the lande from the welſhmen, and althoughe this be nowe well neere 500 yeeres past; yett doth theſe two nac*i*ons keepe eche from dealinges with the other, as mere ſtrangers, ſo that the meaner ſorte of people, will not nor doth not vſuallye Ioyne together in mariadge, although they be

Whie Kemes men keapt their auncient ſpeech and liueinges.

Fo. 23b, anc. 20b.

Whie Dewiſland keapt Welſhe.

[1] Rolls ed, vi, 111.

[2] By Rhys ap Tewdwr, in 1082.

[3] Harried.

in on hundred and ſometymes in the ſame parish, nor comerce or buye but in open faires, ſoe that yo^{n} ſhall finde in on p*ar*iſh a pathe waye, parteinge the welſhe and Engliſhe, and the on ſide ſpeake all Engliſhe, the other all welſhe, and differringe in tyllinge and in meaſuringe of theire lande, and diu*er*ſe other matters,: And nowe this diverſitie of ſpeeches breedeth ſome inconveniences, ſoe that often tymes it is founde at the Aſſiſes, that in a Iurye of xii men there wilbe the one half that cannot vnder-
Fo. 24a, anc. 21a. ſtand the others wordes; and yett muſt they †agree upon the truth of the matter, before they departe,: and I have ſeene two tryers[1] ſworne for tryall of the reſt of the pannell, the on meere Engliſhe, the other not vnderſtandinge anye worde of Engliſhe, have laſted out three daies vpon the matter: the on not able to ſpeake to the other/./

Iriſhmen in Penbrok-ſhere.

As for the Iriſhmen they are ſoe powdred[2] among the Inhabitaunts of *Rowſe* and *Castlemartyn*, that in eu*er*ye village you ſhall find the thirde, fourth, or fift houſholder an Iriſhman, and nowe of late they ſwarme more then in tymes past, by reason of theſe late warres,[3] in *Ireland;* and if it ſoe contynue for the tyme to come, in ſhorte tyme they are like to match the other inhabitau*n*ts in nomber,: theſe for the most parte ſpeake and vſe here the Engliſhe tongue, yett in ſuch ſorte as that all men maye diſcerne them to be that Countrey people, as alſoe by the rudenes of theire maners, for the ſervante will vſuallye thow[4] his maiſter, and thinketh it noe offence, as manye as come out of the Countey of *Weiſford*, ſaye, they vnderſtande noe Iriſhe, neyther doth anye well vnderſtande his Engliſhe, they are ſoe increaſed that there are, ſome whole pariſhes inhabited by the Iriſhe, haveinge not one Engliſhe or welſhe, but the parſon of the pariſhe, and theſe Iriſhe people here doe vſe theire Countrey trade in makeinge of aquavitie,[5] in greate aboundaunce, w*hi*ch they carrye to be ſould a broade the Countrey on horſe backs, and otherwiſe, ſoe that weekely yo^{n} maye be ſuer to have aquavitie to be ſold at yo*u*r dore,: and by meanes thereof it is

[1] The triers were two indifferent persons named by the court to decide if the challenges or objections to the jurors were well founded.

[2] Sprinkled. Lewis rejoices that the lapse of a century had rid the country of the 'Hibernian swarm', but laments that they had left behind them a pernicious taste for strong liquors in preference to 'the only beverage calculated for a British constitution—ale.' There had been a great influx fifty years previously to the author's time. See Laws, p. 236.

[3] Tyrone's rebellion.

[4] Instead of the more respectful 'you'. Compare the French *tutoyer*.

[5] A drink since known as whiskey.

growne to be an vſuall drinke in moſt mens houſes in ſteede of wyne, ſome of them makeinge exceedinge goode, and ſould better cheape then in anye parte of *England* or *Ireland*,: for I have drunke as good as ſome *Roſa ſolis*[1] made by them, and this ſold vſuallye for xvij^{d} a quarte,: but comonly yo^{u} ſhall haue verye good for x^{d} or xij^{d} the quarte, which is better cheape then ever I could buye the like in anye parte of *Englande*./

Of *the conſtitucion of the bodies of the people and of the inclynacion and nature of the Inhabitantes as well by ancient writters as otherwiſe*, Cap: 5:

Fo. 24b, anc. 21b.

What I ſhall ſpeake here tochinge the conſtitucion of the bodies of the people of this Countrey, muſt be vnderſtood of the gen*er*all and comon ſorte of people of the Countrey, beinge the greateſt nomber, and not of the gentlemen ſervingemen or Townſmen, for of thoſe I will afterwardes ſpeake in particular, this kinde of people I finde to be verye meane & ſimple, ſhorte of growth, broade, and ſhrubbye,[2] vnacceptable in ſight for theire p*er*ſonall ſervice, howeſoever they prove in action, when they are putt to yt, ſoe that of all the Countreys of *Wales* I finde and ſpeake by experience *Penbrokſhere* to be worſt manred,[3] and hardeſt to finde p*er*ſonable[4] and ſerviceable men, ſoe that the lieutenau*n*tes[5] and Comiſſioners for Muſters, are more toyled in ſeekeinge 30 or 40 p*er*ſonable men then theire neighbore ſhires are, to find 100, and when they haue vſed all theire induſtrie therein, in the ende they are forced to ſett furthe manye to theire owne diſlike,

[1] A brand of spirit.

[2] Stunted.

[3] The state of being a man (in the sense of vassal). Compare *kinred*—the old form of *kindred*. The author uses the word for men in the sense of soldiers. See next page.

[4] Of good presence.

[5] The lieutenants—afterwards called lords-lieutenant—were permanent officers of the Crown, appointed first in the sixteenth century to superintend the military forces of the county. They took the place of the commissioners of muster and array who were sent down to the counties on the decay of the old military tenures, to set the inhabitants in military order. The militia was not put on a regular footing until the time of Charles II.

althoughe the beſt that cold be founde (all due conſideracions had,) ./.

No good manred for ſeruice and whie.

The cauſe of this diſabillitie of perſons is eaſielye to be diſcerned if a man looke into the ſtate of the Countrey, and education of the meaner ſorte of people, for this Countrey of *Pembrokſhere* beinge almoſt envyroned with ſea, Bare, Champion and naked of wood and ſhelter, is more ſubiecte to extreamitie of ſtormes and ſuddaine tempeſtes and ſea flawes[1] of wynde, & hayle, then other the Inland Countreys are, and therefore there are fewe hedges or encloſures to be founde, by reaſon whereof the huſbandmen are forced to keepe heardes for theire Cattle and that in greater nombers then other Countryes †in *England* doe, or that they themſelues neede, as I ſhall hereafter touch more lardgelie wherein I ſhall ſpeake of the inconveniences of this Countrey, for I haue by good accompte nombred three thowſand yonge people to be brought vpp contynuallye in hearding of Cattle, within this ſhere, whoe are putt to this Idell education, when they are firſt come to be ten or twelfe yeeres of age, and turned to the open fieldes to followe theire cattle, when they are forced, to endure the heate of the ſonne in his greateſt extreamitie, to parch and burne theire faces, hands leggs, feete and breaſtes, in ſuch ſorte as they ſeeme more like tawney Moores, then people of this lande, and then with the could, froſt, ſnowe, hayle, Raine, and winde they are ſoe tormented haueinge the ſkine of theire leggs, hands, face, and feete all in chinkes and chappes, (lyke chinkes of an Elephante, wherewith he is wonte to take the flyes that come thether to ſucke his bloude) that poore ſoules they may well hold opynion with the papiſtes, that there is a purgatorye, and beinge thus tanned with heate of the ſunne, and dryed vpp with the heate and cold, as the fiſhermen doe theire Stockefiſhe in the froſte and poore Johnns[2] with the ſommers heate, ſoe manye of them, as are of that name, maye well neere be reckoned with theſe later ſorte, differinge as much from other people, that are brought vpp in warme houſes, by goode fires in winter, and ſhrowded[3] with ſhadowe of houſe or ſhade in ſommer, as the Stockefiſhe[4] or poore Johns doe from the lardge organ lynge,[5] and when they haue redeemed theire libertie out of this purgatorie, by attaineing to xx or xxiiij yeeres of age, then are they held in

Fo. 25a, anc. 22a.

[1] Violent blasts; cf. *Hamlet*, v, 1. Lewis says the country had been enclosed by his time.

[2] The hake.

[3] Sheltered. The covered place near old St. Paul's Cross was called 'The Shrowds'.

[4] The coal-fish.

[5] Ling.

ſuch contynuall laboure in tillinge of the lande, burneinge of Lyme, digginge of coles, and other ſlaveryes, and extreame toyles, as whyle they lyve they never come in ſhape, favoure, or Comlynes, to be accompted amonge the nomber of *per*ſonable men,: and yett perchaunce (his deformitie notwithſtandinge) as ſerviceable in proffe as *he* that looketh with a fairer contenau*n*ce /./ This is one cheefe cauſe as I take it whie this Countrey cometh ſoe farre behinde the reſt of *Wales* for manred, and able p*er*ſons, as it is founde to doe, Beſide this the Countrey† eſpeciallye of late yeeres is fallen much to trade to ſea, and a greate parte of the Countrey people are ſeamen and maryners w*hi*ch maye not be taken vpp for lande ſervices, and manye of them contynuallye abroade at ſea; and ſeldome to be founde at home, w*hi*ch is a ſpeciall matter, w*hi*ch ſhould be regarded in layeinge of nombers of men, for forraine ſervices, vpon this ſheere,: Beſide this the Countrey noriſheth, neyther willinglye harboureth anye Idle people, w*hi*ch allwaies are founde to be the moſt p*er*ſonable men, but eu*er*ye man applyeth dilligentlye his owne buſynes, which he liveth by, and in this reſpect I am induced to thinke that theſe meaner ſorte of people, althoughe they haue loſt theire language are the remnant and offſpringe of theſe ffleminges, that were ſent hether to *Pembrokſhere*, by H: 1: and kinge *Stephen*, and placed about *Pembrok* and *Hauerfordweſt*, as the hiſtoryes doe delyver, for by theire ſeriouſe and carefull applyeinge theire laboures, they haue in hande, in not medleing with other mens affaires, and for true and plaine dealeinge they ſhewe themſelues to be the heires of these Ancient ffleminges and doe therein much reſemble theire Cozens the Lowe Countreymen at this daie, who for the qualities above expreſſed carrye the praiſe of all other Nac*i*ons, : In one thinge theſe our ffleminges have altered theire ſtomackes from the reſt over the ſea, for in that exceſſe w*i*th w*hi*ch the dutchmen are taxed, for drinkinge are theſe theire kinſmen for exceſſive eateinge, for of cuſtome at certeine ſeaſons and labors they will haue fyve meales a daie, and if you will beſtowe the ſixt on them they will accept of it verye kindly, and if they be but a litle intreated ; they will beſtowe laboure on the ſeaventhe meal, of this I will more lardgelye ſpeake hereafter amonge the inconveniences vſed in this Countrey, ./.[1]

Fewe idle people.

Fo. 25b, anc. 22b.

Generally for the inclynac*i*on of the people as well gentlemen, yeomen, rich and poore, they all imbraſe peace, quietnes and neighborly love, hateinge contentions, trobles brawles & factions,

The people loueinge and obediente.

[1] Lewis thinks the author must have judged the capacities of the stomachs of his neighbours by those of his own household, which, to judge from the size of the oven at Henllys then extant, must have been enormous.

entreated after an offence receaved, & if there be one or two of more bent to putt vpp an Iniurye, then to revenge a wronge, eaſilye contrarye dispoſic*i*on to be founde amonge vs, they are not to be reckoned: but my ſpeache is of the moſt parte of the people, not †regardinge a fewe, if anye be, and to conclude in fewe wordes verye obediente to the magiſtrates of the Countrey, vndertaking willingly to theire power any burden or chardge, layed vpon them, for the princes ſervice, or theire Countreys good, without repininge or ſeemeinge vnwillinge thereat,: provided that there be noe oppreſſion, or parciallitie offred, which greeveth them more; then the burthen, and will quicklye move them to complaine ./.

Fo. 26a, anc. 23a.

The Gentlemen of the Countrey perſonable:

The gentlemen ſervingmen and the Townſmen of this Countrey are not ſoe vnſerviceable, but very parſonable, comelye and tall men w*hi*ch confirmeth my former aſſertion that the harde laboure, parchinge of the ſunne, and ſtarveinge with cold is a cheefe cauſe of the vnſeemelynes of the comon people of the Countrey, ſeeinge the gentlemen, ſervingmen, and thoſe brought vpp in Townes, w*hi*ch are not tormented with theſe extreamities, of heate and cold, nor tyred with toyle, doe prove more parſonable,: and of the comon people of this Countrey the welſhmen, whome the reſt call the mountaine men, are founde to be the more perſonable, as people not ſoe cloyed with labour, as thoſe that live by tyllage; yett notwithſtandinge the vnſeemelynes of the men, I have had diu*er*ſe Captaines that haue had the leadeinge and trayneinge of this Countrey men in forraine Countreys, comend them for their ſervice, as people docible and apte to receaue inſtruction in Marſhiall diſcipline, and able to endure trauell, & harde lodginge, and yt should followe, that thoſe w*hi*ch are ſoe acquainted with the force of heate and could, muſt prove leſſe daintye thereof, then thoſe that haue not taſted of it before, yt was a ſpeciall comendac*i*on given to the Romaine coniurator *Catylin;* that he was *patiens frigoris et inediæ*,[1] wherein if our Countreymen maye receaue praiſe for the one, yt is like they will much repyne at the other, if theire ſtomackes be not more cooled abroade then at home/./.

[1] Sallust, *Bell. Cat.*, cap. 5.

Of *the deviſion of the ſaied Countrey in Ancient tyme into Cantredes and Comotts, howe now it is devided into the Engliſhrie and Welſhrye, as alſoe how the ſame is laſtlie devided into vij hundredes*, Cap: 6:

Fo. 26b, anc. 23b.

Before I declare vnto you howe the ſame was in Ancient tyme devided into Cantredes and Comotts, it were neceſſarye to ſhewe what the ſame names doe ſignifie, and when the ſame particion was made,: and firſt as touchinge when the ſame was ſoe parted· it is of that antiquitye, that there is not extante anye matter of Creditt to grounde anye certaintie thereof; but maniefeſt it is that *all Wales* was in the tymes of the Brittaines devided into Comotts and Cantredes, eche of them knowne by theire proper names and bounds, manye of w*hi*ch names as yett remaine, and the places well knowne by the ſame, and ſome (thoughe not manye,) are buryed in oblivion, yett to be founde out for the moſt parte by ſome memoriall of theſe names, we finde that *Rhodry mawr* who lived prince or rather kinge of all *Wales;* about the yeere of chriſt 843, had three ſonnes betweene whome he devided all *Wales* conſiſtinge of liij Cantredes, whereof he gaue vnto *Cadell* his eldeſt ſonne (as I affirme)[1] xxiiij Cantreds of *Southwales;* to his parte and porc*i*on, amonge the w*hi*ch this province *Penbrokſhire*, then called *Dyvett*, of which only I will ſpeake in this place, contained vij Cantredes, eche Cantred beinge ſubdevided into iij Comotts, whoſe names (as I find them written of Ancient tyme) I haue thought good to laye them downe here, that is to ſaye,[2]

First diuiſion of Wales into Cantredes:/

[1] Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt, the antiquary, who died in 1666, wrote a 'very elaborate treatise' to overset this doctrine of the author, which was afterwards maintained by Dr. Owen Pughe and others.

[2] The "Seven Hundreds of Dyfed" and their contents are not accurately given here. The commots here said to be included in Arberth (Narberth) and Doyglethe (Dungleddy) Hundreds all formed part of the great Hundred called *Cantref Gwarthaf* or 'the Upper Hundred (of Dyfed)', a division coextensive with the Deanery of Carmarthen, and (except Efelfre or Velfrey) now entirely included in Carmarthenshire. There was no ancient Hundred of Arberth or Narberth. Under the head of Emlyn, *Leuethir* is a corruption of *Eluet*,

Emlyn Cantred containeinge three Comottes, *vid(elice)t*	*ywch kych* · *yſ kych* · *Leuethir*		*Doyglethe* Cantred three Comottes	*Amgoed* *Penant* *Evelfrey*	
Auncient Cantreds of Penbrokshire. *Arberth* cantred containeinge iij Comottes	*Penrin ar lais* *Eſker o lef* *Talagharn*		*Penfro* Cantred three Comottes	*Coed yr haf* *Manerbir* *Penfro*	
Roſe Cantred three comotts	*Hwlfordd* *Caſtellgwalch-may* *y Garn*		*Pebidiok* Cantred three Comotts	*Mynyw* *Pencaer* *Pebidiok*	
Kemes · Cantred 3 comotts	*ywch nyver* *yſhnyver* *Trefdraeth*				

Fo. 27a, anc. 24a.

Definition of Cantre.

†The name of *Cantre* is an Ancient Brittiſhe word, and well vnderſtoode of the welſhmen by the etymologie thereof; for *Tre* ſignifieth a towne or village and *Cant* is the laten worde *Centum* a hun-

i.e., Elfed, which division was also in Cantref Gwarthaf, not in Emlyn. Under Doyglethe, "Penant" is a corruption of *Pelunyawc* (= *Peuliniog?*), a district in Cantref Gwarthaf, but otherwise of uncertain situation; and the real commots of Doyglethe were those of Castell Gwis (now Wiston) and Llanhuadain (now Llawhaden). Under Arberth, the first two names are corruptions of *Penryn a Derllys* (Derllys is a well-known place, which has given its name to a modern hundred of Carmarthenshire) and *Esterlwyf* (Oysterlow) respectively, and the latter name is also corrupted into *Ystlwyf* (see Lewis Glyn Cothi's *Works*, p. 299); the commot of Talacharn has given its name to the town now called Laugharne (pronounced *Larn* in English and *Lacharn* in Welsh), situate at a place anciently called Aber Coran. Under Penfro, *Coed yr Haf* is a corruption of *Coed Rhaff* (or *Rhaf*), a phonetic variant of Coed *Rhath*, the Rhath (also *Radh*, *Liber Landavensis*, p. 109) being the brook whence are derived the names *Amrath* (now Amroth, = 'on the Rhath'), *Glan Rath*, and *Llan Rath* (see *Lib. Land.*, pp. 109, 117, 244); the name *Coed Rhath* has also been rationalised by copyists into *Coed Traeth* (see p. 49, *infra*). Under Rose (Welsh *Rhôs;* now called Roose), the English names of the three places mentioned are Haverfordwest, Walwyn's Castle, and Roche; the word *Carn* anciently meant (as it ordinarily does in Cornish and also, it is believed, in Pembrokeshire Welsh) 'a *rock*' as well as 'a cairn'. The *commot* of Pebidiog seems a mistake due to repetition. Elfed gives name to the modern hundred of *Elvet* in Carmarthenshire, and is retained in the parish of Cynwyl *Elfed*, as the name *Amgoed* is retained in that of Henllan *Amgoed*, in the same county. Pebidiog, Mynyw, and Trefdraeth are the Welsh names of the hundred of Dewsland and the towns of St. David's and Newport respectively; and the Nyfer is now called in English the Nevern.

The author's list of Demetian Hundreds is copied (with the omission of the fictitious *Cantref y Coed*, in which were placed the two genuine commots of Doyglethe, so as to make the "hundreds of Dyfed" into eight instead of seven) from that in the *Description of Wales* by Sir John Price and Humphrey Lloyd, com-

dred, ſoe that Cantre ſignifieth a hundred Townredds or villages and ech Townredd conſiſted of a certaine nomber of Acres of lande, ſoe that for the moſt parte, eche Cantred ſeemeth to be neere of equall quantitie, The worde Comott ſignifieth a neighborhood or concourſe of people, and maye very well be expounded by the laten word vſed by the Clerkes of the Comon lawe in theire writtes of *venire facias vicinetum*, for as the laten worde *vicinus* ſignifieth a neighbor, ſoe doth the ould welſh worde *Comodock* ſignifie the ſame, and as this worde *vicinetum* is taken in the eye of the lawe for the hundred, ſoe was ech of thes Comottes, Ancient hundreds,[1] and had hundred Courtes kept in them, this much for the Comotts and Cantreds of *Penbrok ſhere* beinge the moſt Ancient devicion of the ſame,/. *Definition of Comot.*/

Nowe will I ſpeake of the ſeconde devicion thereof as it nowe ſtandeth devided between the Engliſhmen and Welſhmen of that ſhere,: and firſt, as before I haue declared, the ſame beinge in Anciente tyme inhabited wholelye by Welſhmen, a greate parte thereof was woon from them, by the Engliſhmen, vnder the Conduct of Earle *Strongbowe;* and diuerſe others, and the ſame planted with Engliſhmen, whoſe poſteritie enioye it to this daie, and keepe theire language amonge themſelues, without receaueinge the welſh ſpeache, or learneinge any parte thereof, and hold them ſelues ſoe cloſe to the ſame, as that to this daie they wonder at a Welſhman comeinge amonge them,: the one neighbor ſaieinge to the other, looke there goeth a Welſhman,/. The ſhere is well neere equallye devided · into two equall partes, betweene the Engliſhe ſpeache and the Welſhe / for the *Hundreds of Caſtle-*

pleted in 1559, and printed in Powel's *Historie of Cambria* (see ed. 1584, pp. 17, 18). A virtually identical list of the ancient divisions of Wales is the *first* of the two printed in the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, vol. ii, at the tops of pp. 606-13, and erroneously thought to be and quoted as from the *Red Book of Hergest;* it also exists in 17th century MSS. All these lists were composed later than the division of Wales into counties. The three oldest lists, of which one is found in the *Red Book of Hergest* (Rhys and Evans' *Bruts*, pp. 407-12), another in the *Cwtta Cyfarwydd* (*Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 327-331), and the third in Leland's *Itinerary* (ed. 1769, vol. v, fos. 16-8), furnish between them (as far as regards Dyfed) the corrections of all the mistakes of the 16th and 17th century lists. But it should be added that the errors by which parts of the Cantref Gwarthaf are included in Emlyn and Deugleddau hundreds are ultimately traceable back to the misplacement of the brackets in the *Cwtta Cyfarwydd* list ; which same list also stands sponsor for the fictitious commotes of Pennant and Pebidiog, and probably also of Trefdraeth. See *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 330.—(E. P.)

[1] The cymmwd, or commote, became generally the lordship or manor. The cantref became the hundred.

martyn Rowſe and all *Narberth*· exceptinge the pariſhes of *llandewy* and *Llanpeter* and all *Dongledy;* exceptinge the pariſhes of *Llanvallteg*, *Llangan*, *llandiſſillio*, *llanykeven* and *Crynowe* doe ſpeake the Engliſhe and then the hundreds of *Kemes*· *Kilgarran* and *dewiſland* ſpeake all the welſhe tongue, ſoe that about 74 pariſhes are inhabited by the Engliſhmen, and 64 pariſhes meere welſhe, and the reſt beinge about 6, ſpeake both languages, beinge as it were the marches betweene both thoſe Nat*i*ons/./.[1]

Vij hundreds in the Shire.

Fo. 27b, anc. 24b.

Laſtlye as touchinge the devic*i*on thereof into hundreds the ſame †Conſiſteth of vij ſeu*er*all hundreds beſide the borowe Townes, w*hi*ch althoughe they be within ſome hundred or other, yett they claime to be noe parcell of the hundred, neether ſhall the highe Counſtables or bayliffes of the hundredes, intermeddle or deale by u*er*tue of theire offices within moſt of theſe Townes, eſpeciallye thoſe of the cheefeſt, but they hold them ſelues exempted from theire Authoritie, this devic*i*on of the ſheere into hundreds was done when the reſt of the ſheeres of *Southwales* were devided into hundreds by the kinges Comiſſion, w*hi*ch was about the 28 yeere of kinge h: 8: foure of the ſaied hundreds, beinge the firſt that followe, doe agree in name, and ſome of them in quantitie[2] with the ould Cantreds before expreſſed, and the iij laſt are nowe changed in name, thoughe the two firſt of them containe the ſame quantitie vnder other names and the laſt is a p*ar*cell of on Anciente Cantred· as ſhalbe declared/./.

when deuided into hundreds.

1 *Kemes*
2 *Dongledy*
3 *Rowſe*
4 *Narberth*·
5 *Dewiſland*·
6 *Caſtlemartyn*·
7 *Kilgarran*·

Dewiſland why ſo called.

Dewiſland is that w*hi*ch was in Ancient tyme called the Cantre of *Pebidiok* and ſo is it called of all the welſhmen to this daie, it tooke the name of *Dewiſlande* amonge the Engliſhmen for that it was given[3] to the buſhoppſea of *S*^{t} *Dauides*· w*hi*ch S^{t} dauide was called in welſh *Dewy*, and therefore the Engliſhmen called it

[1] This division is sufficiently accurate at this day.

[2] Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 5, agree both in name and (at least approximately) in quantity with the ancient Hundreds; but the modern hundred of Kilgarran only contains one-half of ancient Emlyn, plus the lordship of Cilgerran, as to which it does not seem quite certain whether it was in ancient Emlyn or not.

The modern hundred of Narberth is made up not only of the ancient commot of Coed Rhath in Cantref Penfro, but also of the district of Efelfre or Velfrey, in Cantref Gwarthaf, and perhaps a small bit at the extreme north-west, which was in neither of these districts. There was no ancient hundred of Narberth. —(E. P.)

[3] See note 2, page 39, above.

Dewiſland, as the landes of *S^t Dauides ;* and that name beinge given to the hundred at the firſt tyme yt was made a hundred, the ſame ſoe contynueth ſtill./.

Castlemartyn hundred is that w*hi*ch was called the Cantre of *Penfro*, but it containeth but two of the three Comottes thereof· *vidz: Maner pyr* and *Penfro:* the other Comott called *Coed r haf* or rather *Coed traeth*[1] · as I finde it written, is nowe put to the hundred of *Narberth* to make it complete, for a greate parte thereof, that was taken awaye from it, & annexed to *Carmarthenſhere*/.

Kilgarran hundred is parte of the Cantred of *Emlyn* & conſiſteth only of the third parte of the ſaid Cantred, *vidz Yſhkych ;* and to this daie the ſaied hundred is called of the Inhabitants by the name of *Emlyn Yſkych ;* the other p*ar*te thereof *Ywchkych* is alſoe taken from *Pembrokſher*, and added to *Carmarthenſhere* & is that parte wherein newe *Castle*[2] ſtandeth/./.

†I have manye other matters fitt to be ſpoken of eche of theſe hundreds in particular, w*hi*ch I here omitte, for that in my ſecond booke of the diſcripc*i*on of this ſheere, where I meane to handle ech hundred, and eu*er*ye pariſhe in the ſame in particular, onlye this one thinge I thoughte good to geve note of, that at ſuch time as the ſheeres of *wales* were divided into hundreds, that the ſame was done by allottinge certaine mano*ur*s and L*ordſh*ips to make vpp eu*er*ye hundred, and not by allottinge p*ar*iſhes together to make the ſame, neyther had they anye reſpect of anye Rivers, hills, mountaines or ſuch like notable markes w*hi*ch might well haue ſerved for good, bondes or lymittes, for eu*er*ye hundred, this is to be plainelye perceaved for that yo^u ſhall finde in diu*er*ſe places on pariſhe devided into two hundreds and ſome tymes into two ſheeres, as for example the pariſhe of *Brydell* in *Kilgarran* hundred and parte of the pariſhe is in *Kemes* hundred, the like for *llanvaire*[3] the pariſhe beinge parte in *Kemes* · and parte in *Dewiſland*, and the pariſhes of *Kilrhedyn*, *llandiſſilio*, *llangan ;* and *Castle dyram* are parte in *pembrokſhere* and parte in *Carmarthenſhere* · even as they were parted before betweene the L*ordſh*ips that were allotted to eche ſheere, or hundred, neyther did they followe anye ſtraight waye path Ryver or markes, to make the hundreds of good forme, but tooke the lanſkars[4] as they founde them to ſerve thoſe mano*ur*s w*hi*ch they allotted to eu*er*ye hundred, whereas the Ryvers of *Taf* or *Clethe* had been verye goode and apparant marckes, to haue parted *Carmarthen* and *Penbrokſheres :* This muſt

Fo. 28a, anc. 25a

[1] See note 2 on p. 45, above.
[2] Newcastle Emlyn.
[3] Llanfair Nant y Gôf.
[4] Boundaries.

haue ben ſoe of neceſſitie, for that the comiſſioners that were appointed[1] for devideinge of certaine ſheres into hundreds did aſſemble themſelues together at the Counſell of the marches for that buſynes, ſoe as they had not libertie to ſee anye fitte lanſkars for thoſe hundreds, but only by addinge L*ordſh*ips and mano*u*rs to make vpp eu*er*ye hundred, and for the devic*i*on of thoſe hundreds there were certaine principall gentlemen of eu*er*ye of the ſaid ſheeres fitte for theire knowledg learneinge, and diſcrec*i*on, to performe ſuch a ſervice, theſe were ſent for by · l*ett*res, by a *Purcephant*[2] to make theire repaire to the Counſell of the marches, as appeareth by an order remaineinge yett of recorde at the Counſell, w*hi*ch I haue thought good, as well for the preſerveinge thereof to the ages followeinge, as alſoe for memorye of the gentlemen, that were imployed therein to inſerte in this my worke w*hi*ch is as followeth./.

Apud Bridgenorth xij° die Septembris
Año xxviij Henrici octaui

Upon Receipt of the kinges moſt honorable Comiſſion, for devideinge of the Countyes of *Penbrok*, *Cardigan*, *Monmouth*, *Brecknok*, *Radnor* †*Mountgemery*, *Glamorgan*· and *denbighe;* accordinge to the Acte of parliament and further to doe as in the ſame Comiſſion is contained, It is ordered that ſeu*er*all l*ett*res be dir(e)cted with the kinges meſſengers furth with to the Comiſſioners in the ſame Commiſſion named, whoſe names are ſubſcribed, willinge and chardginge them to appeare before the Counſell the laſt daie of this moneth, Soe as the Comiſſion, Maye take effecte accordinge to the kinge our Sou*er*aigne Lordes, expectac*i*on as they will therefore aunſwere/./.

Fo. 28b, anc. 25b.

Walter Deuerevx knight lo: Ferrers
Thomas Englfield knight
John Port knight
Anthonye Fitzherbert knight
Edward Croft knight
Thomas Cornewall knight
William morgan knight
Richard Herbert knight
William Thomas knight
Roger Puleston knight
Rees Maunſell knight
John Ragland knight
Thomas Gamage knight

[1] By 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 26, s. 26.

[2] Pursuivant.

Roger wigston
John Puckington·
John Ruſſell·
John Vernon·
Edwardes Jones · clerk ·
Walter Herbert
Charles herbert
Anthonye walſh·
William Vaughan of Talgarth·
James vaughan
John Saluſbury
Peeter Saluſbury
George Herbert
John Corbett of lighe
John wogan·
John ap John·
John Baſſett
William Owen·[1]
William vaughan·
Thomas Holt
Richard Haſſell·

} *Eſquior.*

†*Thomas ap Rees of Kedewen·* Fo. 29a, anc. 26a.
John ap Rees of Clon·
Lewelyn ap Morgan·
John ap Morgan·
John ap lewis havard·
Hugh dauid lewis
Roger vaughan of Clyro
Jenkin lloid·
Lewis Blethin
Henry Caderne
William dauid w^{iij}[2]
Thomas ap Owen ap Phē[3]
Anthony · Morgan·

In this order the Countey of *Carmarthen* is omitted w*hi*ch when I p*er*ceaved and went to M^{r} *Thomas Sherer*, then regiſter of the Counſell & ſearched the originall, where it was alſoe wantinge, ſoe that it ſeemeth it was omitted by negligence, but certaine it is that *Carmarthenſhere* was then with the reſt devided into hundreds,

[1] Apparently the author's father. The three preceding names also seem to be those of Pembrokeshire men. [2] William. [3] Phelip.

and is expreſſelye menc*i*oned in the ſtatute to be devided, but here maye ſome perhapps aſke a reaſon whie theſe Nyne ſheeres of *Wales*· ſhould be devided into hundreds, and of theſe that foure of the Ancient ſheeres, *vidz*, *Carmarthen*, *Penbrok*, *Cardigan*, and *Glamorgan* ſhould be then devided into hundreds, and that the other foure Ancient ſheres, vidz: *Angleſey;* *Carnarvon*, *Meryoneth* and *fflynt* was omitted, and not devided into hundreds; as the reſt, yo^{u} muſt vnderſtand that theſe foure laſt ſheeres remained devided into Comotts accordinge to the Ancient deviſion of *wales;* and of Ancient tyme, the Sheriffes of theſe foure Counteys had a Bayliffe in eu*er*ye of the Comotts, which nowe they· call hundreds, to execute the Sheriffes Mandates, and preceptes, and in theſe Comotts, the Sheriffes and theire Bayliffes, of Ancient tyme, before the ſaid Statute, did hold and keepe feu*er*all hundred Courtes, in eche of theſe Comottes and in theſe ſheeres[1] there were noe Manou*r*s or L*ord*ſ*h*ips, neyther anye Courtes Baron[2] or leetes kept or holden, ſaue only these Comotts or hundred Courtes, holden by the Sheeriffes, But for the fyve newe ſheeres aforeſaid *vidz: Monmouth*, *Brecknock*, *Radnor*, *Mountgomerye;* and *Denbighe;* w*hi*ch were newly made 27 H: viij: There neyther was, nor cold be anye deviſion of Ancient hundreds in anye of them, as alſoe, in the other
Fo. 29b, anc. 26b. †foure Ancient Counteys, that is appointed by the ſaid Acte of 27 H: 8: to be devided into hundreds, vidz: *Penbrok*, *Cardigan* *Carmarthen* and *Glamorgan*, there were noe Ancient hundreds neyther had the Sheriffes any Bayliffes of hundreds, nor held anye hundred Courtes, or Tornes[3] in anye of them, for that thoſe ſheeres were altogether devided into Manou*r*s, Seignioryes, and L*ord*ſ*h*ips, and within them the ſtewardes of these Manou*r*s held and kept Courtes Barons, and Leetes, and this beinge conſidered of by the kinge, and his Counſell order was taken that theſe ix^{en} ſheeres w*hi*ch had noe hundreds before, ſhould be then devided into hundreds, for w*hi*ch purpoſſe, the xlvij Comissione*r*s aforeſaid, were appointed and then was it alſoe enacted, that the Sheriffes

[1] It was decided in the case of the Att. Gen. *v.* Reveley in the Exchequer Division, 1868-9, that there are manors in the counties named. The case is not in the Reports, but a full report was privately printed for the Commissioners of Woods and Forests.

[2] The Court Baron was the court of the freeholders of the manor. The Court Leet, principally of criminal jurisdiction, was granted by the Crown to particular manors.

[3] The Court Leet, held by the Sheriff in each hundred in *rotation*, from which the privileged manors were exempted. The Sheriff's County Court answered to the Court Baron.

ſhould nomynate Bayliffs, of theſe hundreds, to the ende that *wales*, ſhould in all thinges for the adminiſtrac*i*on of Iuſtice reſſemble and followe the courſe of the ſheeres of *England;* w*hi*ch are devided into hundreds, and that the ſheeriffes might haue convenient officers, vnder them, to execute ſuch writtes, and mandates within theſe hundreds as he ſhall receave from his ſuperiors, for before this late deviſion of theſe foure Anciente ſheeres, of Southwales into hundreds the Sheeriffes thereoff (beinge allwaies) for tearme of liffe,[1] held onlye on Countye Courte monethly, and there harde all matters determiable before them, / and had one Bayliffe onlye throwout the whole ſheere, to execute his preceptes, & mandates, w*hi*ch was then called the *Sheere bayliffe;* but nowe the Bayliffe *Errant k*·[2] and this was the reaſon and cauſe whie theſe foure Ancient ſheeres of North wales was not appointed by the ſaied ſtatute, to be devided into hundreds, as the reſt of the ſheeres of *wales*·/./.

[1] Sheriffs were first elected annually in Wales by 34 and 35 Hen. VIII, c. 26, s. 71.

[2] This letter is not clear in the MS. It may be *R*, i.e., *Reginæ*.

Fo. 30a, anc. 27a.

Of *ſuch Comodities as this countrye cheefflye yealdeth and venteth to other partes thereby to bringe in money for the ſame.* Caput ſeptimum./

God in His devyne wiſdome hath diſtributed his manyfold erthlie bleſſinges on mankinde diverſlie in diverſe countreyes, in ſuch ſort as that thinge which aboundeth in one countrye wanteth in another, and that which one countrye hath, another hath not; thereby expreſſing his will that as he hath ordayned one Countrie to helpe another with the naturall guiftes, that he hath endued each of them: ſo would he have one man to be helping to another with his guiftes which he hath diverſlie beſtowed on them: & as god of his goodnes hath not left any Countrie ſo baren but that it yealdeth ſome thinges neceſſarie to the neighboure lande about yt: ſoe hath he bleſſed diverſe Countries with more or leſſe of his good guiftes as it beſt pleaſed his devyne goodnes to beſtowe: and as there is noe Countrie in this realme of *England* but doth finde out ſome thinges to vente and ſell of their aboundance & encreaſe which they convert to money, being accompted the cheeffeſt riches in any countrye of this weſterne parte of the world: Soe this litle Countie of *Pembrokſheere* ys not without plentie of gods bleſſing as well for ſufficient meanes for the people to live in good and plentifull ſort, as alſoe to vent and ſend into other Countries thereby by bringe in money, to p*ro*cure ſuch neceſſaries from other countries as the ſame wanteth: amonge the cheeffeſt and greateſt comoditie that this ſheere vttereth,[1] I take corne to be a Comoditie that of all other deſerveth moſt to be cheriſed and the procurers thereof moſt to be favored: for that tillage above all other the trades of *England* mantaineth moſt people and requireth moſt handes to labor: And the p*ro*fitt thereof mantayning and feeding man and beaſt is and well may be accompted the godlieſt trade of any other, and therefore not vnworthilie called *ſancta rusticitas* makinge good the ſaieing of the poet: *o fortunatos nimium bona ſi ſua norint agricolas.*[2]

Corne the first comoditie.

[1] Sends out.

[2] Virg., *Georg.*, ii, 458.

This Comoditie of corne is the cheeffeſt that bringeth in money to the Countrey, beinge a Countrey more apt for tillinge then for breede, the ſoile being naturallye drie and fitt for the plowe worke, but this differeth much in ſome parte of this ſheere from other.

†The cheeffeſt corne lande in *Penbrokſheere* is the hundred of *Castlemartyn*[1] as that which yealdeth the beſt and fineſt graine and moſt aboundance, being a countrey of it ſelf naturally fitt and apt for corne, havinge lyme, ſand woade[2] of the ſea and divers other principall helpes to better the ſoile, where neede is: this Countrie yealdeth the beſt wheat & greateſt ſtore, beinge found by experience to be better of yealdinge in the mill, and maketh the breade fayrer then any other wheat of the ſheere./ Fo. 30b, anc. 27b. *Castlemartin best for Corne.*

The next to *Castlemartyn* for good and good store of Corne is *Rowſe* a champion and plaine countrye without much wood or encloſures. this, althoughe yt may not compare with *Castlemartyn*, is the next good ſoile, & yealdethe great aboundance of wheat, barlie and other graine not rechinge in finenes to *Castlemartyn.*/

Then cometh in courſe the hundreds of *Narberth & Dewiſland* which to prefferre for their tillage I can not well diſcuſſe, for althoughe *Narberth* have the better lande and better meanes of mendinge as lyme, ſand, ſea woad, ſtonne marle yet by reaſon the Countrie is woddie and encloſed the Inhabitantes convert more of their lande to paſture then *Dewyſland* doth or can doe. the Countrie beinge all open Champion and drie lande muſt of neceſſitie till their land or ells they ſhall have noe profitt thereof: and ſuerlie, *Dewyſland* many partes thereof verye fruitfull for corne eſpeciallie barlie, but it is accounted oatie and not ſoe fine as that of the other partes which I take to come by the negligence of huſbandmen in ſowinge of bad and oatie ſeade for I have not ſeene better or finer land, nor greater ſtore of corne then I have ſeen growinge about *Saint Davids*, and the auncient people doe affirme that there hath ben 100 buſhells of barlye had vpon an acre of that lande, theire buſhell beinge more then doble wincheſter, althoughe now as they ſay that cometh ſhorte of it. *Good Corne ground at St. Dauides.*

Dongledy alſo hath great ſtore of corne for the quantitie of the hundred thoughe not comparable to any of the reſt ſo doth the reſt of the ſheere yeald ſufficient ſtore for mantayninge of it ſelf, and to ſell ſome quantitie, thoughe not in ſuch aboundance as the

[1] "Am hynny y diaerhebir o heid Llonyon" (Lanion, near Pembroke).—Triads (Rhys and Evans' *Mabinogion*, last line of p. 307).

[2] Weed.

Fo. 31a, anc. 28a. firſt foure hundreds all which Corne is[1] †vttered partlie in the marketts of the Countrye, but principallye by ſea to fraunce Spaine, *Ireland*, *Northwales* and other places.

Cattell the ſeconde commoditie. The ſeconde and next comoditie that this Countrie ſealleth is Cattell as oxen, ſteeres, bullockes, heiffers and kine of the countrie breed, which of late yeares is greatlie encreaſed more then in tymes paſt: as a comoditie that (particularly) yealdeth proffitt with leſſe chardge to the owner, but gen*er*allie not ſoe comodiouſe for the comonwealth as the tillage, by reaſon it procureth depopulation and mantayneth leſſe people at worke: this trade of breeding Cattell is vſed much in all partes of the ſhere but moſt in the welſhe partes and neere the Mountaines, where their lande is not ſo apt for corne and where there is lardger ſcope of grounde./

Woolle the thyrd commoditie. / The third comoditie that helpeth this ſheere to money is wooll whereof there is great quantitie yerelye ſould, beſide that which is ſpent in the countrie for their neceſſarie vſes of clothinge: the countrie aboundeth with ſheepe more at this preſent then heretofore, and yealdeth great p*ro*fitt with litle chardge: for in this countrie they feede not their ſheepe with haye in winter as is vſed in divers partes of *England*, but let them gett their livinge out them ſelfes, yet in ſome parte of the countrie they houſe them by night, which they doe to keape them from the foxe, and for makinge of donge for their lande, more then for any other cauſe: for fodder they never beſtowe on them, for in this Countrie the ſnowe never covereth the grounde for any longe tyme and therefore they are ſure alwayes of feedinge: The ſhepe are but ſmall of bodie, and the woolle courſer then the engliſhe woolle, and therefore yealdeth leſſe price as moſt Comonly betweene or about eight ſhillinges & ten ſhillinges the ſtoune, wayeinge i7^{li}. but the fleſhe of theſe Muttons ys found to be verye ſweete in taſte, holſome & good meat, ſeldome or never infected withe the rot: Althoughe many yeres there are otherwiſe great Murren and death of ſheepe in many partes of the ſheere: the ſheepe are never houſed but ſuffered to rvn at randome, at their owne libertie all the winter, and at Maie they gather together as many as they can finde by the eare marke;

[1] Here the bottom of the page is reached, immediately below which are added by way of foot-note—evidently an afterthought—these words:—"The cuſtom awnſwerid for [i.e., *accounted for*] wheat tranſportid a primo octobris 1605 vntil 25 M*ar*tij then next folowinge 1606: vzd in ſix monethes was ccxl^{li} & od money at ijs the quarter by w*hi*ch acompt there was ventid by ſea in that halfe yere, 19200 winchefter buſhells: all w*hi*ch was out of the iij hundreds vzd caſtell-martyn Rouſe & Narberth this appereth by custom bookes of that halfe yere." After this the text is continued on a fresh page.

for woolle markes is vſed but of few, ſo that they accompt ſuch profitt as they reape of their ſheepe freely †gotten and without any chardge. Fo. 31b anc. 28b.

The lower parte of the ſheere vent and ſell their wooll to *Bristowe*[1] *men*, *Barstable*[2] and *Somersetſheere* which come twiſe everye yeare to the countrie to buye the wooll: The vpper partes as *Kemes* and *Kilgarran* ſell their wooll weekelie at the markett of *Cardigan* which is bought by *Northwales* men, and wrought by them to white clothes w*hi*ch they ſell to *Shrewyſburye* men./

Butter & Cheeſe the fowrthe commoditie.

The fowrthe principall comoditie that this countrey yealdeth is butter & cheeſe, whereof there is greater ſtore made now in this ſheere then in tymes paſt, and the ſame is vttered eſpeciallie, the butter by ſea but this may not be knowne; ſo is the cheeſe to the Countries adioyninge and ſometymes to *Irelande* for p*ro*viſion of the Queenes garriſons there./

Sheepe and Swyne.

There are alſo ſould yerely great droves of weathers, yonge ſheepe & lambes, and thoſe driven by lande to be ſould in *England*, which alſo bringeth ſome money to the countrye; ſoe is vſed of hoggs and ſwynes which the people doe breede and ſpare more then ſerveth their owne tornes./

Heringes.

Another great bleſſinge is of late yeres fallen to this countrye in greater aboundance then heretofore hath ben ſeane in this ſheere which is the great aboundance of heringes taken all alonge the coaſt round about the whole ſheere, as if the ſame were incloſed in with a hedge of heringes which beinge in great ſtore & ſold to partes beyonde ſea procureth alſoe ſome ſtore of money./

Oyſters.

It alſo vttereth yerelie great ſtore of oyſters, as well by cariers on lande as alſo by ſending them in Barckes ladinge to *Bristowe;* but the proffitt of this comoditie is tranſported back againe by the aple men of the foreſt[3] who cominge hither yerely with many barckes laden with Aples & peares ſell the ſame here at their pleaſure, which carieth away as much money as the dredgers of *Myllford* receave for their oiſters./

Fo. 32a, anc. 29a. *Sea Coales.*

†The lower partes as the hundreds of *Narberth* & *Rowſe* make ſome gaine by ſellinge of Seacoale by ſea to *Irelande* and *ffraunce*, but gen*er*ally the countrie people diſlike with the ſellinge of this comoditie, leaſt in tyme yt growe ſoe ſcarce that the countrie ſhall want it, being the greateſt ffuell, as it hath alreadie enhaunſed the price thereof./

Yt also vttereth ſtore of hides, tallow, and ſheepe ſkinnes and

[1] Bristol. [2] Barnstaple. [3] The Forest of Dean.

lambe ſkinns; this laſt comoditie litle regarded but ſuch as the trade thereof hath enriched divers men, neither will I here laye downe what ſomes of money as I have hard hath ben paied in theſe three Sheeres for lambeſkinns in one Maie by Londoners./

Of *the maner of huſbandrie & tillinge of the lande, & of the naturall helpe & amendementes the ſoile it ſelfe yealdeth, for betteringe and Mendinge the lande as lyme, two kindes of Marleſand woaſe*[1] *or oade*[2] *of the ſea* Caput octavum./

Fo. 32b, anc. 29b.

The maner of tillinge the grounde in this ſheere is in two ſortes: the Engliſhmen vſe moſt ſowinge of wheat, Rie, barlie, peaſe and beans. The welſhemen beinge the worſer huſbandes aplie more the tillinge of oates, and ſome cauſe there was, which cauſed this in former tymes, w*hi*ch now beinge taken awaye the welſhemen are become the better huſbandes[3] the engliſhmen before Chriſtmas fallowe for wheat and rye, and haveing geaven it the firſt breaking it lyeth ſo till Midd maye after barlye ſowinge when they harrow it & turne it, and then it lyeth till the latter ende of *Julye*, and then againe harowe & turne it, & ſoe it reſteth till harveſt be leadd in; at which tyme they donge and ſow it vnder furrow, by this kinde of tilth the lande yealdeth goodlie corne; the like order doe they for their rye lande, which grayne they ſowe in the ſhalloweſt and moſt gravellie grounde, but the wheat delyteth a more fatte clammy and tougher ground, the rye requireth a drie ſeaſon, as corne that muſt be ſowed in dust: the wheat can endure more moiſture; for their barlie lande they firſt turne before or ſhortlie after Chriſtmas, and againe in *Marche* or *Aprill*, and ſoe once more before ſoweing tyme, and in the later ende of *Aprill* and before mydd may they end ſoweing thereof. this kinde of graine requireth the beſt lande as that w*hi*ch is naturally good of it ſelf or ells made good by lyme or Marle: for there is but litle lande that will delite this grayne, except it be neere the ſea ſide but eyther muſt be forced with lyme Marle or ſande, beſide it muſt be alſoe well donged ſo that all thinges conſidered this kinde of grayne is muſt chardgeable to the huſbande, yet the

wheate lande howe dreſſed:

Barlie lande howe dreſſed

[1] *Woze*, the old form of *ooze;* see p. 11, above.
[2] *Woade;* see p. 55, above.
[3] *Husband* is used by Spenser and Bacon for husbandman.

great encreaſe thereof in good lande entiſeth them forward as yealding often tymes ten, twelve, and foureteen tymes the ſeede:

Fo. 33a, anc. 30a.

Peaſe how ſowen.

Peaſe and beanes they ſowe in the ſtuble of ſome of †the former graynes by once plowinge and it yealdeth great p*ro*fitt and encreaſe beſide that it bettereth the ſoile.

The wheat and Rie endureth all the winter ſtormes & forces, as a valiant and ſtout grayne rather reapinge benefitt then harme by the wynter nippinges and froſtie panges, but contrarie the barlie is of a more tender kinde, nor able to endure any check of *Boreas* or the couldnes of the Ayre, ſo that he deſireth to take reſt till cold be paſt and is ſowed in verye warme and foreward ground in *Marche* but moſt comonly in the latter halffe of *Aprill* and firſt of *May;* he reſteth in the ground not paſt three dayes but vp he ſtarteth (if the warme weather doe call on him) and never ceaſeth till he be as foreward as the wheate which was ſowed eight monthes before him, and often tymes cometh to hooke before it. and ſome lande requirethe to be ſowed with this grayne at mydd *June* and then in eight weekes cometh to be cutt.

Two ſortes of wheate;

This countrie hath of winter wheat only two ſortes (that is) bearded and notted wheate (as the huſbandes terme it) the firſt havinge alonge the eare the other havinge none but bald and ſmoath. this not[1] wheate is acompted the beſt and fineſt of the both, and is moſt vſed in the hundreds of *Castlemartyn Narberth* and partlie in *Rowſe*.

Holy wheate a thyrd kinde.

There is a third kinde of wheate not well knowne in other Countries,* which is called holie[2] wheate or ſommer wheate, this is vſed moſt in the welſhe partes of this ſheere as alſo in *Cardigan ſheere*, and is ſowed in the later end of *Marche* and beginning of *Apryll*, and is a daintie graine like the barlie and cannot endure to be pinched with cold. yt is a verie profitable graine and yealdeth more encreaſe then the wynter wheate: It beareth a greater Eare and ſtalke, the ground that this graine muſt have, muſt be well donged and handled, or els it will not proſper. the onlye diſcomoditie of this corne is, it is longe a ripninge, ſo that if the harveſt be not verie tymelye & the weather warme it will hardlie be ſaved: the bread of this wheate is ſaid to be ſomewhat more browne in coulor then the wynter wheate: but in all other thinges equaleth the beſt ſorte: and I have ſeene verye faier and white Manchet[3] made of this kinde of wheate, ſo as noe difference was to be founde betweene it and the beſt wynter wheate · this kynde of wheate is alſoe ſowed in

* Originally 'ſheeres adioininge'.

[1] Properly 'knot'; see Carew's *Cornwall*, p. 63.

[2] So called from being sown in Lent.

[3] White bread.

fould[1] lande w*hi*ch I ſhall deſcribe vnto yo[u] hereafter †Thriveth therein verye well with once plowinge & ſowinge it in the greane ſwarthe./[2] Fo. 33b, anc. 30b.

The parte of the ſheere inhabited by the welſhmen as before is ſaied, followinge their forefathers huſbandrie regard more the tillage of oates then of the former graines, but yet in many places they vſe to ſowe barlie in great plentie: the Cauſes whie theſe mountenlie partes doe vſe this tillinge of oates whereas their lande is good and apt enoughe to beare wheat and rye are diverſe, the one & not the leſt is the vſe thereof of auncient tyme and beinge brought vpp therein are hardlie drawen to alter their Cuſtome, although it be for the better: ſuch force hath cuſtom in mans nature.

One other cauſe was the vſe of 'gavelkinde[3] vſed amonge moſt of theſe welſhmen to parte all the ffathers patrymonie amonge all his ſonnes, ſo that in proces of tyme the whole countrie was brought into ſmale peeces of ground and intermingled vpp and downe one with another. ſo as in eu*ery* five or ſixe acres you ſhall have ten or twelve owners; this made the Countrie to remayne Champion, and without encloſures or hedging, and wynter Corne if it weare ſowen amonge them ſhould be graſed all the winter and eaten by ſheepe and other cattell, w*hi*ch could not be kept from the ſame: for all the wynter longe the ſheepe, horſes, Mares, coltes and ſo manye cattell as are not houſed doe graſe all the fieldes without reſtrainte ou*er* all the countrie; And there this wheate and Rie beinge eaten and troden of Cattell all the winter till mydd *Marche* would be halffe ſpoiled, when the weather waxeth warme and the nightes ſhorte the Cattell are put into foldes eu*ery* night and kept before heardes all the daie; this in my opinion was one cheefe cauſe they reſtrayned ſowing of wynter corne but as nowe ſythence the vſe of *gavelkinde* is aboliſhed for theſe threeſcore yeares paſt in many partes the grounde is brought together by purchaſe & exchanges and headging & encloſures much encreaſed, and now they fall to the tillinge of this wynter corne in greater aboundance then before. *Winter Corne whie not ſowen in the welſh Contrey.*

Another cauſe was, and yet is, moſt of the countrie wanteth haye, and in theſe welſhe partes they are greater breeders of Cattell, then the engliſhe men are, or Can be, by reaſon of the mountaines and comons which they have in the countrie: & therefore the oaten

[1] Folded. [2] Sward.

[3] Gavelkind was abolished throughout Wales by the 34 and 35 Hen. VIII, c. 26, s. 91.

Fo. 34a, anc. 31a. ſtrawe which is the fineſt fodder for cattell †was the more deſired of them to keape their cattell in the wynter tyme.

Theſe be the reaſons as I can gather whie the welſhemen doe more aplie themſelves in tillinge oates then other graine: but nowe to their order of tillage they ſeldome vſe to carie any donge or mucke to their grounde but vſe for the moſt parte a runinge fold of hurdels of cloven oake of about fowre foote heighe & five foote broade, havinge the two ſide poſtes ſharpened at the lower endes. with an yron barre they make holes and with a woaden ſleadge[1] they ſett these hurdells faſt in the grounde, in ſuch ſorte as they are able to keape in any oxen kine and horſes. theſe foldes they will putt vpon ſome peece of grounde wheare they meane to till the next yeare, and therein drive their cattell everie night from mydd *Marche* till mydd *November:* for the reſt of the yeare the nightes are too longe & too cold for the Cattell to lie there. this ffold they remove everie third or fourth night according to the bignes of the fould and nomber of Cattell: but before the ſame be removed they will ſee the grounde covered over with donge; and in this ſorte everie man prepareth a peece of grounde readie evearie yeare vntill he hath overgone his lande. and this lande they plowe in *November* and *December*, & in *March* they ſowe oates in yt and have comonlie a goodlie Cropp, then they followe these landes with oates ſeaven eight or ten yeares together till the lande growe ſo weake & baren that it will not yeald the ſeede: and then let they that lande lie for eight or ten yeares in paſture for their Cattell; this longe followinge the landes with oates ſo weakeneth the lande that it becometh verye baren. for good huſbandes knowe that one Cropp of oates pulleth downe the pride of good grounde verye lowe, and therefore muſt this kinde of tillage much harme the lande; yet can not theſe dotinge huſbandes, be drawen to forgoe their ffathers follie: neither doe I comend this kinde of fould althoughe it be a verie good way to mende the lande, for in this ſorte 200 ſheepe & 20 other beaſtes will mucke neighe two acres of ground in a whole ſommer ſeason, whereas if they were kept in foldes & yardes vpon ſtrawe or other beddinge, they would well yeald ſo much amendement as would ſuffice for ſixe acres of wheat and Rie lande, but in this they acompt ſaved the cariadge of this mucke to the lande, and the

Land foulded.

Fo. 34b, anc. 31b. twice or thriſe plowinge and harowinge of the †Lande, but the huſbandman that ſpareth paine ſpareth thriſte. The welſhemen plowe comonlie with two oxen and two horſes before them, their lande beinge ſhallowe & light by reaſon of this yll kinde of tillage

[1] Hammer.

vſed amonge them: amonge the Engliſhe diverſe have plowes of horſes alone & oxen alſoe but comonlie ſixe beaſtes in their plowe.

They vſe alſoe in this Countrie much bettinge[1] and burninge the lande wherein they ſowe moſt comonlie Rie and ſometymes barlie and oates: this kind of tillage is alſo in two ſortes, either cleane betland or pied betland: the cleane betland is that which is digged vp with the bettax[2] clene leavinge noe parte of the turffe vncutt, and in this they ſowe Rie and ſometymes wheat as the land requirethe: this they bett[3] in *Maie June* & *Julye* and lettinge it lye with the graſſe ſide downeward till it be dried with the ſunne and wynde fitt and apt to take fier, then they pile them in heapes and give them fire on the wyndie ſide till the ſame be conſumed to aſhes, which they spread in *October* and *November* and ſowe their rie: and thereof often cometh great proffitt, but this is ſaid to be a great ympayringe of the grounde for after the rie and one badd Cropp of oates, there will noe more corne be had thereof for twentie or foure and twentie yeares after, and for a yeare or two ſcarſe any paſture; but there is much grounde in this ſheere that bearing nothinge but heath and ſmale furſe & ſhallowe withall cannot be otherwiſe manvred but in this ſorte. And in thoſe places this kind of yll huſbandrie is to be borne withall; but I have ſeane many poore men vſe this kinde of betting in lande, which otherwiſe would have been tilled to better p*ro*fit; wherein they were much to be blamed in doinge themſelves, the lande and the Countrie, harme./ *Beat lande.*

The pied[4] betlande is that which is but halffe digged with the bettax, leavinge halffe the turffe whole and vndigged, this is piled and burned as before is ſaied and in *March* the heapes of aſhes beinge ſpread abroade, the huſbandmen ſowe therein oates which it beareth to great proffitt, this pied betlande ys founde to endure longer in ſtrength, & to yeald more croppes of Corne then the clene bettid lande, for this will contynue to beare oates well five or ſixe yeres, whereas the other hath ſpent all his ſtrengthe in two yeares./ *Pied beat land.*

†Some landlordes havinge ſtore of this baren lande founde it more comodiouſe to keape it in their owne handes then to vente it out at xii[d] an acre which is the vſualle rent thereof for in twentie yeares he hath but twentie ſhillinges whereas if he keape it void Fo. 35a, anc. 32a.

[1] Beating.

[2] The *beating axe*, the implement used for *beating* or paring the sod.

[3] Beat, the true form of peat. There is a Wiltshire term, 'burn-beking', for burning turf to improve the soil. It is called in South Wales 'llosgi bieting'.

[4] Probably this custom is often the origin of the *brith* or *braith* so common in Welsh place-names, or *brech*, as in *Brechfa*, 'Pied-field'.

and at twentie yeares ende till the ſame, moſt comonlye the acre will yeald him IIJ^{li} *de claro*,[1] above all chardges the firſt yeare beſide the paſture of the grounde all that ſpace it lyeth without corne.

Now that I have breefflie overrune the maner of tillinge of the lande, I will ſpeake ſomewhat of the naturalle helpes which are found in the countrie to better the lande, and to make it more fruitfull and apt to beare corne and graſſe: the cheffeſt thereof I recon the lyme for that it is moſt comonlie and moſt vſed and founde to be leſſe chardge then the marle which I take to be the beſt kinde of thoſe naturalle helpes yealded by the ſoile it ſelf: and firſt you ſhall vnderſtand that the lymeſtone is a vayne of ſtones runninge his courſe for the moſt parte right eaſt & weſt: althoughe ſometymes the ſame is found to wreath[2] to the Northe & ſouthe. yet is the mayne courſe thereof as I take that all other vaines of this Realme are alſo found to be, from weſt to eaſt; of this lyme-

Two vaines of Lyme-ſtones and which way they lye.

ſtone there is founde of ancient two vaynes, the one ſmale & of noe greate breadthe: the other verie broade both theſe roninge eſtward as I ſhall declare vnto yo^{u}. the leaſt of theſe w*hi*ch I will firſt ſpeake of is firſt found in the ſea Cliffes at *galtopp*[3] in the pariſhe of *Talbenye* and beinge there verie deepe is noe more founde above grounde vntill it come to *Johnston* ground which lieth Eaſt of *galtop*. at *Johnston* ſome lymeſtone is found but ſo hard to digg as that it ſcarſe requiteth the chardge and therefore there is litle vſe made thereof at *Johnston* or *Talbenye*, the hard digging beinge the reaſon · from *Johnston* it run*n*eth farther eaſtward · and ſheweth it ſelf in the Cliffe at *haroston*[4] ſomewhat ſouth of the ould church there and ſo croſſeth over there. the first braunche of *Milford* to *Boulston* grounde where it is found and burned, and goeth on to *Picton* land and *Sleabech*, and thence croſſeth the other braunche of *Mylford*, and holdinge eaſtwarde appeareth at *Muncton*[5] by the woodd,[6] and ſo eſtwarde to *Ludchurche* & ſo eaſtward to the ſea and paſſeth out of *Penbrokſheere*. this veyne is not of breadth above a but[7] lengthe or ſtons Caſt, & therfore whoſoeu*er* ſeaketh ſowthwarde

Fo. 35b, anc. 32b.

or Northwarde over that breadth miſſeth †it, but eaſtward and weſt-ward is founde to continue althoughe not in eu*ery* place appear-inge by reaſon of his deepe lyeinge in the grounde in ſome places. &

[1] Net. [2] Twist. [3] Goulthrop.

[4] Haroldston St. Issel's, on the Western Cleddau, which the author calls 'the first braunche of Milford', the Eastern Cleddau being 'the other braunche'.

[5] Mountain, in the parish of Mountain Chapel. [6] Canaston Wood.

[7] A 'but-shot' is the distance an arrow will fly. Cf. Leland, *Itin.*, iii, 31.

althoughe it be ſomewhat from my purpoſe to treate of matters out of *Penbrokſheere*. yet becauſe I have ſaied that this vaine of lymeſtone naturallie taketh his courſe from weſt to Eaſt, I will followe on the courſe of this vaine ſo farre as I have ſeene and learned the ſame. This vayne contynvinge his courſe eaſt at *Cromewere*[1] entereth into the ſea paſſinge ſouthe of *Earewere*[2] ſheweth againe at *Castle healye*[3] and *Pendyne* in *Carmerthenſheere* and then paſſinge vnder *laugharne marſhe* appeareth againe at the woodd in Laugharne and holdinge eſtwarde ſheweth at *llanstiphan*[4]: from thence it entereth in betweene the two ryvers of *Gwendraeth* in Carmerthen ſhere and is found at the *glyn*[5]: and betweene the ſaid two Rivers of *gwendraeth* there ariſeth a great hill or Mountaine called *Mynith Kyvor* w*hi*ch runeth eſtward and is all lymeſtone[6] which paſſeth eſtward to *llandebea* Caſtell *Kyrygkynen* and all alonge the topp of the blacke Mountaines ſouth of Capell *Gwenfayr*[7] to *Bulch y rywddy*[8] by *Blaen Com garw* betweene the Rivers *Clydaghe* and *Aman* and ſo by *lloyn y Constable* & to *Mynith Crybarth* and between the riſinges of the Rivers of *Neath* & *Vſke* to *Blaen Cray*,[9] & to the great hill of Managhdeny[10] & to *Blaen Com Collwyn*[11] & ſo to *llonygrwyne*[12] croſſing *vſke* to *Tavarne y maith ſyr*,

The courſe of the firſt vayn of coales

[1] Cronware, anciently called *Lann Cronnguern* (*Lib. Land.*, 117, 244).

[2] Amroth Castle.

[3] Castell Heli, near Cronware.

[4] It crops up at Coygan, above Laugharne Marsh, and in Culver Cliff, in Llanstephan, on the other side of the Tâf.

[5] The Glyn, near Kidwelly. There is no limestone at the Glyn; it re-appears at a place called Burton.

[6] The name Mynydd Cyfor is now and was in the 12th century applied to spots some miles N. of the limestone outcrop. (See *Y Cymmrodor*, viii, 83; ix, 200.)

[7] Llandebie, Castell Carreg Cennen, and Capel Gwynfai (or Gwynfe) are meant. The limestone passes to the south of the highest points of the Black Mountains, *i.e.*, the Carmarthen Vans, and only touches the 'top of the Black Mountains' at Carreg yr Ogof.

[8] Bwlch y Rhiw Ddu. The Clydach is a tributary of the Sawdde, and the Garw of the Amman; Cribarth and Llwyn y Cwnstabl are hills above the Tawe and Twrch rivers respectively, in the parish of Ystrad Gynlais.

[9] The limestone passes considerably to the south both of the Brecon Vans and of the sources of all three rivers. The Tawe and the Usk rise from the Carmarthen Vans, the Crai (a tributary of the Usk) rises four or five miles further E., and the Nedd, or Neath, a mile or two E. again.

[10] The Brecon Vans or Beacons.

[11] The limestone does not pass at the head of Glyn Collwng, but at that of Dyffryn Crawnon.

[12] Llangrwney, corruptly for Lan or Glan Grwyne. Llangrwney is on the *north* of the Usk, and *Tafarn y Maidd Sur*, 'The Sour Whey Tavern', far to the *south* of the Usk, near Brynmawr. (See Lewis's *Topog. Dict. of Wales*, art. Brecknockshire.) On the Ordnance Maps it is called *Tafarn Maen Sir*, from its being on the county boundary.

& ſo towardes *Abergevenye*, and further then this as yet I have not learned the courſe of the ſaied vayne./[1]

The courſe of the ſecond vaine of Coales.

The ſeconde[2] vayne of lymeſtone & cheeffeſt of the two beginneth at the Mouthe of Millford havon, weſt of the *Nangle*,[3] at a place called *west pill:* where the one ſide of the pill yo[u] ſhall perceave the lymeſtone, and the other a red ſtone, which kinde of Red ſtone[4] for the moſt parte accompanieth this veyne of lymeſtone allmoſt throwe out, as it were a cognizaunce[5] of the lymeſtone being

[1] By his 'first vein of limestone' the author means the *northern* outcrop or escarpment of the Mountain or Carboniferous Limestone which surrounds the great S. Wales coal-field. The following corrections may be added to those in the footnotes:

The maps of the Geological Survey do not mark the formation as occurring in the cliffs at Goulthrop. The outlying mass at Johnston belongs to the *southern*, not to the *northern* outcrop; and the latter begins in an outlier near Merlin's Bridge, and in the main mass at Haroldston and Uzmaston. The limestone enters the sea at Gilman Point in Pendine, not at Cronware; nor does its main mass now cross or approach the Usk, though a notable outlier is found on the top of Pen Cerrig Calch, N. of Crickhowell; on the contrary, it winds round to the S. by the Blorenge, above Abergavenny, till it meets with the author's 'second vein' (with which it is in fact one and the same) near Twmbarlwm.—E. P.

[2] By his 'second vein' the author mainly means the *southern* outcrop or escarpment of the same Mountain Limestone. Its main mass actually begins (in two branches) at Llangwm Ferry and Lanion; but there are two or three outlying masses to the S., one of which begins at Angle, and on another of which are situated both Lamphey and Pembroke. The main mass disappears at Tenby and reappears at Burry Holmes and Llanmadoc in English Gower, and again just E. of Kenfig *Pool*. About Bridgend it disappears for awhile under secondary rocks; from Twmbarlwm it sweeps round by the Blorenge to opposite Llangrwney, where it joins the author's 'first vein'. He is wrong in tracing this outcrop across Usk into Lower Gwent; the limestone outcrop there (which first appears at Magor) is not continuous with the S. Wales limestone, but belongs to that of the Forest of Dean coal-field. Across Wye a branch of this mass disappears at Beachley, and reappears across Severn, not at Aust, but at Littleton-on-Severn. Here it forms the border of the Bristol and N. Somerset coal-field, and sweeps round on one side to Chipping Sodbury, on the other (except where overlaid by secondary rocks) to Clifton, and thence to Clevedon and Portishead. It does not appear between Bristol and Bath. South of Chipping Sodbury, on the other hand, it appears in inliers to within three or four miles of Bath. The formations at Bath are wholly oolitic and liassic, and at Aust liassic and Rhœtic.—E. P.

[3] Angle. West Pill is in West Angle Bay; *pill* is a tidal creek, and the word is found in place-names in Gower, N. Cardiganshire, along both sides of the Severn estuary, in E. Cornwall, and in Counties Waterford and Wexford.

[4] Presumably the Old Red or Devonian formation, which here underlies the Mountain Limestone.

[5] The badge by which a thing is distinguished.

hott & fyrie & therefore this redſtone is in collor & ſubſtaunce like a ſtone burned with fire. this veyne of lymeſtone is verye broade, for ſouthward as yt goeth yt reacheth to the ſea both in *Penbrokſhire: Glamorgan ſhire* & *Monmouthſhire* and therefore will I followe the Norther lymitt thereof & ſo followe on eſtward as his naturall courſe †Runeth. this veyne is about ſeaven Myles diſtant from the form*er* more ſoutherlie then it, & ſo or neere they contynue together as ſhall be declared. But now to my purpoſe, the norther lymitt of this vayne paſſeth as the form*er* did right eſt and goeth to *Pater church*, *lanyell*,[1] *lanfey*, and to *williamston* by *Carew* & ſo eſtward to *S^t florence* & to the norther ſide of the towne of *Tenby* where betweene it and the wynde Mylles it alſo goeth to the ſea: and ſtill contynveinge an eſterlie courſe, there it taketh water and paſſinge vnder the ſea, there, as reaſon & the courſe thereof leadeth vs to thinke, ſheweth it ſelf right eſt of Tenby, in the Cliffes at *llanridian* in *gower*, beinge as we may Iudge about twentie Myles from *Tenby* all vnder the ſalt water. from *llanridian* it paſſeth right Eſt throwe *gower* to the Mombles by *oystermouth*,[2] leavinge all the Countrie betweene it and the ſea all of lymeſtone but more northerlie it is not to be founde; at the Mombles the ſea cometh more northerlie then this vayne, & therfore at the Mombles it goeth againe vnder the ſalt water & continveinge right eaſt is founde againe at the ſea ſide over the water in *Glamorgan* at *Kyffing* water a litle above Margan,[3] & heldinge a courſe right eaſt from thence paſſeth all the ſweete and fruitfull vale of *Glamorgan* all alonge vnder the Mountaynes vp to *Keven Mablye*, where paſſinge over the River *Rumney* it entereth *Monmothſhire* & is founde at or neere *Tombarton*[4] hill and from thence paſſeth eaſt throwe Monmoth ſhere directlie towardes *Chepstow* Towne where it Croſſeth the Ryver *wye* intrudinge it ſelf into the *forest of Deane* to the beacon above *wollaston*, and further northe there it is not to be founde as I heare[5]: and from thence it paſſeth to *Awst*[6] & there Croſſinge *Seaverne* is found on the further ſide of the paſſage,[7] and goeth towardes *Sodberye*, but where the norther lanſker there is to

Fo. 36a, anc. 33a.

[1] Lanion.

[2] The two masses of Mountain Limestone in Southern Gower are separated by the Devonian ridge of Cefn Bryn.

[3] The ancient name of Margam ; *Marcan* in *Lib. Land.*, p. 214 (not *Marca*, as in the printed text). By 'Kyffing' the Kenfig is meant.

[4] Twmbarlwm, by Risca (corrupted from Twyn Barlwm).

[5] It extends N. to near Ross and round to Micheldean, and surrounds most of the Forest of Dean coal-field.

[6] Or rather Beachley ; Aust being on the *southern* side of Severn.

[7] The Old Passage.

be founde I knowe not as yet but I finde it in the waye betweene *Awst* & *Bristow* at *westburye*[1] and ſo to *Bristow* all the way and from *Bristow* eaſtwarde till ye come to the hill right over againſt Bathe, where, as I take it, it turneth into a kinde of freeſtone which allſo in that place is burned into lyme./

This digreſſion concerninge theſe two vaynes of lymeſtones taking their originalle here in *Penbrokſhire*, I haue thought good to Inſert in this place, for that at the requeſt of a deere frinde of myne and famouſe for his learninge, I took ſome paines about it
Fo. 36b, anc. 33b. †and findinge the naturall courſe thereof to be as before, a thing perchaunce not ſoe well noted, as fitt to be knowne: and beinge noted and knowne yt may be a guide to ſome partes to ſeake the lymeſtone, whereas yett it lyeth hid, and may ſave labour to others in ſeakinge it where there is noe poſſibillitie to finde it.

The vaine of coales betwine the two vaines of lymestone:

ffor the vayne of Coales which is founde betweene theſe two vaines of lymeſtone as a benefitt of nature, without the which the profitt of lymeſtone were neere loſt, thoughe in ſome place they burne it with wood, I will deferr to ſpeake of till heareafter, where I meane to ſpeake of the ſeveralle ſortes of fuell in *Penbrokſhire;* onlie this I thinke fitt to ſay in this place that betweene the ſaid two vaynes, from the begining to the endinge there is a vayne if not ſeu*er*alle vaynes of Coales that followeth thoſe of the lymeſtone and ſerveth for a principall fuell, in moſt countries, where it is found and caried into foreine partes, alſoe if the comodiouſnes of the ſea doe ſo permitt. This veine of Coale in ſome partes ioyneth cloſe to the firſt lymſtone vayne as in *Penbrokſhire Carmerthenſhire*, and in ſome partes it is found cloſe by the other vayne of lymeſtone as in *Glamorgan*, *Monmouth*, and *Somercetſhires*, therefore whether I ſhall ſaie there are two vaines of Coales to be founde betweene theſe two vaynes of lymeſtone, or to ymagine that the coale ſhould wreth or turne it ſelf in ſome place to the one and ſome places to the other, or to thinke that all the lande betweene theſe two vaynes ſhould be ſtored with Coales,[2] I leave it to the iudgemente of the ſkillfull Myners, or thoſe which with deepe judgement have entred into theſe hidden ſecreates./

A thyrd vaine of lymeſtone.

There is alſo a third vaine of lymeſtone found in *Penbrokſhire* more northerlie then the other two and vſed more of late, then in tymes paſt, & found in places where it was not knowne to be, and

[1] Westbury-on-Trym.

[2] This has been proved to be true. The 'first two veins' of limestone do in fact geologically underlie and geographically encircle the three coal-fields of S. Wales, the Forest of Dean, and Bristol and N. Somerset.

as I Iudge to be founde in diuerſe places where it liethe hidden: this vayne hath ben latelie found neere *Clarbeſton* and *Bull hook* and is a browner ſtone and burneth into browner lyme then the former as profitable for the lande & buildinge as any of the reſt but not ſoe faier in collor for plaſtringe and waſhinge. This ſtone is ſofter & not ſo grey and hard as the former †quarreis and is but ſmall and narrowe, for as I heare it is not much above three or fowre foote broade and it hath ben vſed in tymes paſt for Marle as ſhall be declared hereafter. this ſmale vayne ſeameth to hold the ſame courſe as his former fellowes, that is eſt and weſt, but for that this place alreadie named is the furtheſt parte weſterlie that it hath ben yet ſought for. I will a litle touche the eſterlie courſe thereof eaſt of *Bull hook* & *Clarbeſton* iij miles at the ſpringe of the River *Marlais* above *lloyngwathan*,[1] in a peece of the church lande, there it hath ben latelie ſought for and founde, and from thence as Igueſſe it goeth to *llanbeder*[2] towne where it hath ben anciently founde and digged in great aboundance, and then it hideth it ſelf or at leaſt is not ſought for till you come to *Cloke y vrane*[3] in *llanginin* pariſhe in *Carmerthen ſhire* which is fyve Miles from *llanbeder* where it hath ben founde and vſed for many yeres paſt, and is founde to be the ſelf ſame ſtone both in ſmalenes of the vayne and brownes of Collor:, from *Cloke y vrane* eſtwarde I heare not of this vayne any more, vntill I come to *Droſloyn* Caſtell, *llangathan*, & to *Newtowne*[4] in *Dinevor* where it is found agreeing in quantitie and qualitie as I ſaied before:, and in any other place I cannot heare of it, but I am much deceaved if I did not ſee this verie vayne of ſtone leſſe then a myle out of *Brecknok* towne, in the waye to *Tralhwnge*[5] neere to a farme houſe (as I gueſſe) belonging to the priorie of *Brecknok* Nowe if this lyme-ſtone vaine ſhould followe his courſe weſterlie as the other two doe, and as by the nature thereof, and all probabillitie it doth, then might my neyghboures of *Penbrokſhire* w*hi*ch dwell directlie weſt of *Bletherston* & *Bullhook* be ſomewhat anymated to ſeake out this hidden good neighboures of theirs, which would be a ioyfull thinge vnto them, and therefore it were not amyſſe to gueſſe which way this vayne ſhould be found weſterlie, which is in the groundes

Fo. 37a, anc. 34a.

[1] Llangwathan, near Crinow; called 'Lannteliau Luin Guaidan' in *Lib. Land.*, 117, 244. [2] Lampeter Velfrey. [3] Clog y Frân on the Tâf.

[4] Newton was until lately the name of the *house* at Dynevor, now known as Dynevor Castle (a name which properly belongs only to the ruined castle). The house is still locally called by the Welsh *Dre' Newydd.*

[5] The limestone at Trallwng is cornstone of the Old Red formation.

about *walton*[1] *Spittell* and betweene *Camros* and *Plomstone* & soe towardes *Browdey*[2] groundes and *Ricardston* & to *Eweston*[3] in *Dewysland*[4]: for in *Eweston* otherwise called *owenston* in *Dewysland* there are Coale pittes, where Coale hath ben digged,[5] w*hi*ch is a great argument that the lymestone vayne is not farre of for that the one is founde most comonlie to acompanie the other; but this
Fo. 37b, anc. 34b. vayne being so narrowe is hardlie hitt vpon, & founde, yet †should not the industriouse husbande dispaire or neclect to seake and search for it, hopinge that god would blesse his good endeavoures./

Nowe after my longe digression out of *Penbrokshire* it behoveth me to returne to my form*er* purpose, and to shewe how the husbandmen of the Countrie make their benefitte of this in better-
Lymestone howe dressed & burnt & vsed for amende-ment. inge their lande therewith: this lymestone beinge digged in the quarey in great stones is heawen lesser to the biggnes of a mans fist & lesse, to the ende they might the sooner burne throwe, and beinge heawed smale the same is putt into a kill[6] made of wall sixe foote heighe fowre or five foote broade at the bryme but growing narower to the bottom havinge two lope holes in the bottome which they call the kill eyes, in this kill first is made a fier of Coales or rather colme[7] which is but the dust of the coales which is laid in the bottome of the kill, and some few stickes of wood to kindle the fier, then is the kill filled with these smale hewed peeces of lymestones, and then fier beinge geaven, the same burneth for the space of and maketh the lymestones to become meere red fierye coales which being don and the fier quenched the lyme so burned is suffered to coole in the kill and then is drawen forthe throwe these kill eyes, and in this sorte is caried to the land where it is laied in heapes and the next showre of rayne maketh it to Molter[8] and fall into dust which they spreade on the lande, & so sowe wheat or barlie therein as the tyme of the yeare requireth. but in the lower partes of the sheere where the lyme is most vsed and their lande verye drie of it self, they are forced to muck their land the first yeare with the lyme, the reason as I guesse, is the extreame heat of the lyme being in full strength. the first yeare the lande beinge drie of it self is so hot and drie that it requireth some

[1] Walton East. [2] Brawdy. [3] A seat of a branch of the family of the author.

[4] The only masses of limestone (Silurian) marked in the districts indicated are at Camrose and at Shoal's Hook near Haverfordwest; there are also two masses at Robeston Wathen.

[5] The Mountain Limestone does *not* accompany the coal-measures at or near Eweston. No limestone whatever is marked as occurring thereabouts.

[6] Kiln, still locally called 'kill'.

[7] Now called *culm*. (See note 1 on p. 90 below.) [8] Moulder.

Moiſture to ſeaſon it or otherwiſe would exceed in heat & drienes which would hinder the growth and proſperitie of the corne which is noriſhed beſt of a mixt Compoſition of heat and moiſture but in the verie Mounteines where the ground is rather too cold and moiſte the lyme being Caſt thereon the ſame bringeth forth faier Corne without any Muck at all the firſt yeare; the grounde being thus amended beareth great aboundance of Corne for vj or vij[en] †yeres and then requireth ſome reſt but it is the better for ever after the lyminge. Fo. 38a, anc. 35a.

This trade of lyminge hath ben more vſed within theſe thirtie or fortie yeares then in times paſt and it deſtroyeth the ffurſe, fearne, heath and other like ſhrobbes growing on the land and bringeth forth a fine and ſweete graſſe and quite Changeth the hue and face of the grounde and hath greatlie enriched thoſe that vſed it, but thoſe partes where it hath ben moſt vſed in tymes paſt, it is nowe Changed for a better kinde of huſbandrie (as they take it) latelie found out, which is ſandinge their ground, as ſhall be declared hereafter./

The next and cheeffeſt kinde of mendinge of the lande is the Claye Marle ſoe called for difference betweene it and the ſea marle: this kind of Marle is digged out of the Earthe where it is found in great quantitie and thought to be in rounde great heapes and lompes of Erthe as bigg as round hills, and is of nature fatt toughe and Clamye and muſt be Caſt and ſet on the ground verye thicke in ſmale peeces cloſe one by another ſo thicke that it muſt Cover all the grounde. *Clay marle.*

The opinion of the Countrie people where this Marle is founde is that it is the fattnes of the Earthe gathered †at *Noes* flood, when the Erthe was Covered withe the ſaid flood a whole yeare, and the ſurginge and toſſinge of the ſaid flood, the fattnes of the Earth beinge clamye & ſlymie of nature did gather together, and by rowlinge vpon the Earthe became round in forme, and when the flood departed from the face of the earthe, the ſame was left drie in ſondrie partes, which is nowe this Marle that is found. and how the Comon people Cam to this opinion I knowe not but it is verye like to be true., for whereſoever the ſame is founde, it is loppie[1] and covered with ſande gravell and round pebleſtones ſuch as you ſhall finde at the ſea ſide verie plaine, appearing that the ſtones hath ben worne by the ſea or ſome ſwift river. Fo. 38b, anc. 35b.

Alſo in the harte of the Marle is founde diverſe ſortes of ſhells, of fiſhe, as Cogle ſhells, Muſkell ſhells, and ſuch like, ſome altogether

[1] Loose.

rotten & ſome yet vnrotted, as alſo you ſhall therein finde peaces of tymber that ben hewen with edge tooles & fire brandes, the one ende burned and diverſe other thinges which hath ben before tyme vſed, & this xx^tie^ foote and more deepe in the Earth in places that never haue ben digged before, and over the which great oakes are now growinge : and this ſeaven or eight myles from the ſea ſo that it is verie probable that the ſame came into theſe places at the tyme of the great and gen*er*all flood.

Fo. 39a, anc. 36a.

The uſe of Claymarle and the profitte thereof.

†The vſe of this Marle is thus beinge digged and caſt vpp out of the pitt is Caried to the lande, and there caſt eyther vpon fallowe or laye grounde vnplowed and this in the ſom*m*er tyme in *Maye : June : July :* and *August* or after harveſt all tymes of the yeare ſearveth for caſting of it, if the weather be faier, and it lyeth ſo on the lande all the ſummer and wynter where the Rayne and ſvnne melteth it and maketh it to rvnne like molten ledd over all the face of the Earth: and if it be caſt on fallowe they ſowe barlie the next *Maye:* and if it be caſt on laye grounde the ſame is ſowed with oates and eu*er*y yeare after with barlie for twelve or fowreten yeares together without giving any other amendement and yealdeth Corne verie pure Cleane and of much yealding, exceedinge the like kinde of Corne being otherwiſe tilled both on the lande in the barne floare and in the Mill: yt will Carie barlie wheat and peaſe contynuallie for xx^tie^ yeares without donge, and contynueth for many yeares after in bearinge of Corne being donged once eu*er*y three yeares, & will not ſeake to haue any reſt or pawſinge tyme to recover harte . if the lande before bare either furſe fearne heath broome or any other kinde of ſhrubb the Marle vtterlie deſtroyeth it, & Cauſeth the grounde, (be it neu*er* ſo ill conditioned and baren before,) to bringe forth fine graſſe full of the hearbe called *Trifolium*, or three leaved graſſe, & of the Countrie people honie ſuckles[1] both white and red ; ſo that in the ſommer tyme the lande will be all covered with theſe flowres and looke with a Clarett Coulor mingled with white and red, and will yeald a moſt pleaſant and fragrant odoure and ſmell, proceadinge from theſe ſweet flowres. I Count this kinde of †Mendement the beſt of all other found in this place of *wales :* This marle is of couler with vs moſt comonlie blwe and in ſome place redd· *Plyney*[2] who writeth ſeverall chapters of this Marle in his naturale hiſtorie of the world, ſaieth yt is to be founde in *ffraunce* and *Brittaigne*, and that it is of ſondrie Coulors as *Alba*.

Fo. 39b, anc. 36b.

[1] This is still the name in Somersetshire and many other English counties for the pink clover (*Triſolium pratense*).

[2] *Hist. Nat.*, ed. Trüb., iii, 52 ; for 'se' read 'et'.

Rufa, Columbina, Argillacea, Tophacea harenacea. he alſoe deſcribinge the ſubſtance thereof to be: *Adeps terræ ac velut glandia in Corporibus denſante ſe pinguetudinis nucleo.*

The nature of the Clay marle.

This Marle beinge fatt & Clam*m*ye is of nature fẽrtile & byndinge and therefore is to be caſt on baren lowſe and drie lande. firſt if the lande be moiſt the lyme rather ſerveth then this. ffearnye grounde is founde to be verie fitt to be mended with Marle, for it beinge lowſe and drie is made faſt & moiſt by it, and is brought to a good and apt temperature for corne and graſſe. it is verie hard to digg by reaſon of the toughenes, much like to waxe: and the pickax or mattock beinge ſtroken into it, is hardlie drawne out againe, ſo faſt is it holden: it is alſoe verie heavie as ledd, and therfore hard to be caried eſpeciallie vpp the hill, ſo that it is chardgeable, but all things beinge accompted it trebleth in Comoditie the chardge eu*ery* yeare after. this I ſpeake by myne owne experience and practize. this kinde of Marle longe ſythence was much vſed about 100 or 160 yeres paſt as appeareth by much lande Marled and many auncient Marle pittes yet extant: but it was wholie neclected till about 24 yeares paſt that diverſe poore people began to finde Comoditie thereby, it is founde by proffe to Contynue to beare Corne and graſſe for 100 and 160 yeres together, for there are manye peeces of lande knowen, to haue been marled above C yeres paſt, & yet †Contynueth vnder corne to this daie and founde to be good. this Marle is founde in Kemes and both[1] Emlyns from *Dynas* vpp to *Penboyr* in Carmerthen ſheere, beinge about twentie myles in lengthe and about fowre myles in bredeth in moſt places to the ſea ſyde, and out of this compaſſe I cannot heare that the ſame ys founde:, I thinke more for want of Induſtrie then otherwiſe; for yf this kynde of Marle be the fattnes of the earth & gathered togyther by the deluge,* as yt is verye probable, then ſeinge the deluge* was over all the face of the earth · I ſee no reaſon but that the ſame ſhould be alſoe founde in moſt Contries: and who ſo liſt to learne more of this Marle: let him pervſe a pamphlett[2] which I have written thereof, wherein I have declared the nature of the marle, how to knowe yt and finde yt. and the order at Lardge of digginge and layeinge yt on the lande; of the ſeverall ſortes thereof for what yt is good, and for what yll. And ſoe for brevyties ſake I Ceſſe here to writte any More thereof.

Fo. 40a, anc. 37a.

* Originally written 'diluge', 'dyluge'.

The thirde kinde of amendement for the lande that this

[1] Emlyn above and below the river Cych; see pp. 45, 46, 48 (note 2), and 49, above.

[2] See Preface.

Stone marle and the nature thereof.

countrye yealdeth, is the ſtonne Marle beinge a kynde of ſtonne digged out of a Quarrey, and beinge caſt on the lande, caſteth yerely a ffleece[1] of ſande, which in proces of tyme doth ſoe amende the grounde that neither the Lyme nor the Claye marle goeth beyonde it, and carieth Corne and graſſe in great aboundance. Theſe ſtones may not be removed from the Lande for then the grounde decayeth. the diſcomoditie of this marle ys, that the lande wilbe longe before yt cometh to yeald Comoditie: for the firſt tenn or twelffe yeares after the marlinge thereof, yt yealdeth

Fo. 40b, anc. 37b.

ſmale †or noe proffitt, becauſe the ſtones have not caſt ſufficient to better the ſoile, and therefore as I gueſſe this kynde of Marlinge is neclected for theſe many yeres: for I cannot heare of any nowe lyvinge that hath ſeen any lande mended with this ſtonne Marle, but there ys extant many goodly Cloſes' verye fruitfull to this day, that hath ben amended with this ſtonne before the memorie of any now lyvinge,: this was much vſed about Picton, Sleabetche, Wiſtonne Clarbeſton, Llawhaden. & in many places adioyninge, where theire beſt lande is of this ſorte. and the ſtonnes founde in great plentie yet in the lande; the Quarreys of this kinde of Marle are founde yet at Sleabetche and in other places & yt is ſaied that this kynde of Marle ſtonne willbe burned into Lyme, & that yt ys a ſofte kynde of Lymeſtone, but in ſubſtance verye gravellye, this is of all other accompted the moſt durable, thoughe longe ere it come to the proffe.

Sea ſande and the nature thereof in amending the lande./

The fowrthe kynde of amendement, that this countrey yealdeth, is the ſea ſande which is founde in Many places, but not in all partes of the ſea Coaſte; this is founde in *Newporte*, *Dynas* and about theſe partes: and the people knowinge the places, doe vſe vpon ſpringe tydes, or after great[2] riggs of the ſea, at which tyme the ſea will caſt the ſame in more aboundance together into great heapes. · and laye it out of the full ſea Marke, & therehence fetch it in ſackes on horſebackes & carye the ſame three fowre or five Myles, & caſt it on the lande, which doth verye muche better the grounde for Corne and graſſe, but this dureth not paſt ſixe or eight yeres. This is alſoe much vſed in Cardigan, Mountverwicke

Fo. 41a, anc. 38a.

& llangoedmor[3] in Cardigan †Sheere where it bringeth forth the beſt Barlie and moſt cleane in great aboundance, & hath greatlie enriched the huſbandmen there./

But I have ſeene of late yeares at freſhwater Eaſt, in Caſtle-

[1] A coating.

[2] Rig, a riotous course.

[3] Cardigan, Mount Verwig, and Llangoedmor are the parishes immediately N. of the estuary of the Teifi.

martynn hundred where they have digged ſande out of the drye Lande in the ſandye borowes, w*hi*ch is not at any tyme overflowne with the ſea, and have Caſt the ſame to theire lande: and I have ben tould by an honeſt & good huſband that they finde this kynde of huſbandrye more profitable then the lyme w*hi*ch they have in great ſtore on their lande, in ſo muche that they geave over Lymynge which they have allwayes practized & betake themſelfes to the caſtinge of this kynde of drye ſande, so that by theire experience yt ſhould ſeame to excell both lyme & marle in fructifieing of the erthe: this practiſe in *Caſtlemartyn* hath not ben vſed paſt ſixe or ſeaven yeres; God ſend it good succeſſe:

It is ſaied of ſome writters that the oaſe[1] or ſlyme of the ſea caried and layed on the lande proveth profitable, but this was never vſed of any of this Countrye that I cowld heare of, yet doth the ſea yeld plentie thereof in manye Creekes and Havons./

As for the ſea ore,[2] or woad as ſome call yt, which is verye weedes growinge vnder water in the ſea vpon rockes and ſtones, and with tempeſt and Riggs of the ſea is torne and caſt a ſhore with the wynde and tyde, and vnder the full ſea marke may be gathered and Cutt of the ſtones, the ſame is vſed of many rather as muck or donge ſervinge but for one yeare onlye then to be acco*m*pted amonge the former †durable kindes of amendement. this kinde of oare they gather and laye it in great heapes where it heateth and rotteth and will have a ſtronge and loathſome ſmell; the ſame beinge ſoe rotten they caſt on the lande as they doe their mucke and thereof ſpringeth good corne eſpeciallye Barlye. *Ore of the ſea.* Fo. 41b, anc. 38b.

It is a ſaieinge amonge the Countrye men of the contynuance of theſe foreſaied amendementes that a man doth ſande for himſelf, Lyme for his ſonne, and Marle for his graunde child, thereby deſcribinge and comparinge the contynuance of each kinde thereof./

[1] The soft mud left by the tide; see pp. 11 and 59 above.
[2] Otherwise 'woare', seaweed.

Fo. 42a, anc. 39a.

Of *the maner and order of buildinges, both of townes, caſtells, churches and howſes vſed in this Countrye, and of the Quarreies of Stonne that are founde fitt & ſervinge for that purpoſe.*

Caput nonum.

Touchinge the buyldinges of this countrye, the ſame is alltogether of ſtonne & not of timber, which I thinke was done in former tymes more for the comodiouſnes of the aboundance of ſondrye and ſeverall ſortes of ſtones fitt for buildinges then for want of tymber; for that I finde in old tyme there was in manye places of the Countrye ſufficient ſtore of tymber to have framed fayer buildinges: But now, & hence forward they muſt contynue the former maner of buildinges with lyme & ſtonne for want of wood, and ſhall have much adoe to fynde tymber to ſerve for loftinges[1] and roffes. all the buildinges of the auncient Caſtells were of lyme & ſtonne verye ſtronge & subſtancially built, ſuch as our maſons of this adge cannot doe the like: for althoughe all or moſt of the Caſtells are ruinated and remayne vncovered, ſome for diverſe hundred yeres paſt, yet are all the walls firme and ſtronge, and nothinge ympayred, but ſeeme as if the lyme and ſtonne did incorporate the one with the other & become one ſubſtance inſeperable: ſo that yt ys more eaſie to digg ſtonnes out of the mayne Rocke, then to pull downe an old wall & to take ſtonne out of the ſame; whereas if yo[u] breake a wall made but twentie or thirtie yeres paſt yo[u] may take with eaſe and pull out the ſtones thereof, whereby it appeareth that workemen of this adge are not ſoe ſkillfull, or at leaſt ſoe carefull as thoſe of the former adges, wherin is veryfied an adage or verye vſuall proverbe in the brittiſhe or welſhe tonge: *gwaeth*[2] *waeth maen ſaer gwell well prenſaer:* which is that the maſons ſhall growe worſe and

Fo. 42b, anc. 39b. worſe, and the †Carpenters better and better till the worldes end.

The maſons were ſo ſkillfull in ould tyme in theſe countreies

[1] Flooring and roofs. Spenser uses 'loft' for floor, *Faerie Queene*, v, 6, 27.

[2] Literally, 'worse and worse the stone-worker, better and better the wood-worker.'

that moſt Caſtells and howſes of any accompt were builded with vaultes verye ſtronglie and ſubſtanciallye wrought contynvinge *Vaultes.* in good eſtate; and you ſhall finde manye houſes of accompt that had few or noe loftes, but all vaultes, eſpeciallye for the kitchin ſellers, larders, Brewhouſes, & other howſes of office, whereas nowe in all new buildinges theſe vaultes are alltogether neclected: and in auncient tyme yo^{u} ſhall fynde that the rooffes of diverſe churches and Chappells were all vauted over, and that of a great height, whereof dyverſe are yet ſtandinge as *Woram*[1] *S^{t} Danyells* chappell by *Penbroke Flimſton*[2] and the chappell by *llawhaden* with many other. Thes kinde of buildinges with vawtes were moſt Comon in the partes neere *Penbroke*, the hundred of *Narberth* and in the townes where lyme was at hand, and where they built all with lyme: but in *Kemes*, *Killgarran* & *Dewiſland* where the lyme wanteth, theſe kindes of ſtronge buildinges are not ſo Comonly to be ſeen: for in theſe partes where the lyme wanteth, they vſe morter of Clay or erth to make their ſtone walles, & herein yt ſeameth that nature hath had care to ſerve the vſe of all partes, for in thoſe partes where lyme is to be had for morter, there are the ſtones round and not flatt or ſquare, in ſuch ſorte as if lyme were not as it were to glew them together there could noe buildinges be ſubſtanciallye made with theſe ſtones: and on the Contrarie in *Kemes* & other partes where lyme wanteth, there, hath nature afforded a more Convenyent kinde of ſtonne beinge thicke ſlate and verye broade which ſerveth with the morter of Claye only to make a verye ſtronge & ſubſtancialle †wall more harde to *Fo. 43a, anc. 40a.* break then that with lyme and the ſmalle ſquare ſtones; for yo^{u} ſhall have this kinde of wallinge ſlate ſtones of fowre or five foote longe and iij or iiij foote broade and of what thickenes yo^{u} pleaſe to digg them from x^{en} inches to an inche as you pleaſe to cleave the ſame; which kinde of ſtonne moſt comonlye have naturallye the one ſide ſoe ſtreight and ſmoathe as thoughe the ſame had ben by a workeman hewen and planed: which make the wall verye ſmoathe and fine: and beinge of that lengthe and breadthe maketh the wall verye ſtronge and firme: ſoe that it is a thinge impoſſible to pull one of theſe ſtones out of the myddeſt of any wall. of theſe two ſortes of wales are all the buildinges of the

[1] Warren.

[2] Flimston Chapel. The first three places are in Castlemartin Hundred. The 'chappell by Llawhaden' was that of the hospital founded there for strangers, poor orphans, the sick and the aged, by Bishop Beck at the end of the 13th century.

Sheere, and as that with lyme are moſt ſtronge and moſt durable, yett is it acompanied with a ſhrewde diſcomoditie: which is, the wall made with lyme of this Countrey Contynueth for ever moiſt in hitſelf, and therby maketh all the roomes daukiſhe[1] and apt to Corupt with ruſt and rottinge anythinge that is kept in the roome, eſpecially if it be yron, writtinges or bookes it verye ſpeedilye Corrupteth the ſame: whereby is found one great Inconvenyence in this preſent adge; that Armor will not endure in this Countrye halffe the tyme it will doe in the Inland countreies of England, for let the Armor be cleaned verye well & put in any roome of this buildinge in one weeke it will growe ruſtie: what ſhould be the Cauſe thereof I cannot Iudge, but a naturalle Inſtincte engraffed in the ſtones or lyme; for in theſe buildinges yo[u] ſhall finde the verye ſtones in the wall againſt any wett weather to ſweate with great dropps of water, and all the walles of the houſe to be all weapinge and covered with ſtreames of water, runinge downe and this perſwadeth me to be one of the cauſes whie in ould buildinges are found ſo manye vawtes †and ſoe few loftes. for that in theſe watrye walles the beames in ſhorte tyme doe rott & ſoe the loftes decaye. But in that other partes of the Countrye where the buildinges are of ſlate and claye morter; the walles are not of that nature, but continve drye, & yet not ſoe drye but that ſometymes before wett weather it will ſhewe ſome ſmale ſigne; and theſe laſt walles are accompted for the more holſome dwellinges then the former as leſſe ſubiecte to Coruption: *quia omnis putredo ex aqueo humido ortum habet.*[2]

Coruption of Armor.

Sweatinge of walles against raine.

Fo. 43b, anc. 40b.

Ariſtotle.

Nowe as concerninge the ſeverale ſortes of Stones that are found fitt for buildinges and ſlatinge: there are diverſe, and of diu*er*ſe kindes ſervinge to diverſe purpoſes, whereof I recon firſt the lymeſtone whoſe vſe ys found noe leſſe Comodiouſe for wallinge then to burne for Morter. This Lymeſtone is digged out of the Quarrey verie bigg and lardg, and will not onlye endure to be hewen with tooles into any ſort you pleaſe: but alſo will be poliſhed like the Marble, & will be brought to ſhyne with a fayer gloſſe ſo ſmoathe and bright as it wer Iett and blacke in Coulor with ſome graye ſparkes in the ſame; which much beautifieth the worke. I have ſo ſeane goodlie pillers and dornicks[3] wrought of this five or ſixe foote longe, ſoe faier as any marble whatſoever. beſide it is of contynuance nothinge behinde

Stones for buyldings.

[1] Moist.

[2] Arist., *Meteor.*, lib. iv, cap. 1.

[3] The dornick (from the Flemish name of Tournay) was properly the tapestry made there. It is apparently used here for the slab over which it was thrown.

the Marble for this ſtone hath never ben founde to decaye or ympaier in any worke, eyther by wynde or other frettinge tempeſt which vſuallie eateth and conſumeth the freeſtones & other kinde of ſtones, where theſe Lymeſtones are founde, and howe the veynes thereof runn is declared in the laſt Chapiter. The onlye yll quallitie of this ſtonne is in ſtayres and pavementes, for by treadinge thereon it will growe ſoe ſlipperye and ſmoathe that people take harme by ſlydinge thereon.

Next vnto this Lymeſtone for comodiouſe buildinge ys the Nolton ſtonne beinge a kinde of ffree ſtone, but in coulor a darke graye and of a gryndeſtone gritt, and doth make good grindſtones as alſoe Muſtard Milles. This ſtonne is †Eaſilie hewed and ſearveth in buildinges to make wyndowes, doores, chymneys, Arches, Coine-ſtones,[1] waterberges[2], and wynd berges or any other hewen worke: and (the color excepted) in goodnes and ſtrength againſt the force and frettinge of the ſea wynde paſſeth the *Hartleberye quarey* of *Somercet ſheere*[3] for this ſtone endureth all forces of the ſea winde without fretting or weareinge, but the ſtones of *Somercetſhere* being farre fett[4] and deere bought is founde to be eaten with the ſea wynde into ſmale pittes as *ſnayles* doe eat fruite vnder trees & in the ende are Conſumed to naught: and therefore are founde by exp*eri*ence vnſerviceable for this Countrye, ſaving for Mantell trees for Chymneys or other worke within doores. This ſtonne I call by the name of Nolton ſtone, for that it is founde there[5] and thereof taketh the name: but the ſame is founde in moſt of the ſea Cliffes rounde about the Sheere: eſpeciallye neere *Newport* there is great ſtore and differinge in collor ſome vaynes white, ſome yealowe and moſt greye; moſt of the ancient caſtells have ſtore of this kinde of ſtone which contynueth perfect to theſe dayes, a good proffe of longe duringe, this hath alſoe a ſpecialle propertie to endure the force of fier: for of theſe have I ſeene a glaſe maker make his furneis, and there did endure the extreeme heat of their occupation, w*hi*ch no other ſtones of this Countrye Could abyde. /

Nolton Stone.

Fo. 44a, anc. 41a.

There is alſoe founde in the Cliffes[6] about S[t] Davids an other

Sainte Dauides freeſtones :/

[1] Corner-stones.

[2] For the verge of a gable, usually of wood, the *verge-board*, or *barge-board*.

[3] No such place can be found in Somersetshire. Hartlebury near Stourport in Worcestershire, where there are stone-quarries in the Triassic rock, is probably meant; there is also a Hartpury N.W. of Gloucester. [4] Fetched.

[5] On St. Bride's Bay. The word was originally Old Town. The initial letter did not form any part of the original name, any more than it did in the cases of Narberth and Nangle.

[6] Especially at Caerfai; but the Nolton stone was also used at St. David's.

kinde of hewinge ſtone profitable in contynuinge: w*hi*ch is digged in verye great and lardge ſtones, as ſome foure foote square: of this the Cathedralle Church of Saint Davids, the Buſhopps palace, and dyverſe of the Canons houſes are builded; yt is browne of color and ſome of it darke red much like the ſtonne of the Colledge at *Worcester* & eaſilye hewen to any forme./

Tuff stone. Next theſe, there is *Tuff*[1] *Stone* found in the Mountaine over *Newport*, and in *Coed Cadw* in *Nevarne* pariſhe; this is a lardge ſtonne verye toughe yet eaſie in hewinge and moſt comonlie full of litle holes, theſe ſtones riſe verye lardge in the quarreyes: ſo that thereof you may make lardge mantells for Chymneies of one ſtone, and of three ſtones the whole frame of a lardge doore *vzd* one
Fo. 44b, an c. 41b. †piller for eu*er*y ſide and one to cover the ſame eyther archwiſe or ſquare at your pleaſure. this ſtonne ſerveth for Coyneſtones and wyndowes, gates, and doores; and is verye ſtronge and profitable in buildinge and verye fayer but above all thinges it ſerveth beſt for ſtayres as a ſtonne whereon a Man may bouldlye treade without ſlydinge by reaſon of the roughnes thereof which will not be worne ſmoathe, and ſlyprye as the lymeſtone and moſt of other ſtones will./

Redd stone. There is another kynde of freeſtone which for fynes and collor paſſeth all other yet ſpoken of, which is a bludd red ſtonne and will be hewen very well and make fine worke, this is verye perfect red myxt with ſome brownenes and will ſerve to make faer and lardge wyndowes, Mantell trees and all other hewen worke both within and without the houſe & againſt weather is moſt durable, this in my ſimple opinyone for the buildinges of this countrye were moſt profitable and beautifull: for as in England where the buildinges are of bricke and in collor redd, there, ys deſired the white freeſtone for wyndowes and doores becauſe of the beawtie thereof, in makinge varietie of collors to delite lookers on; ſo in this Countrye where all our walls are white by reaſon of the lyme, doores, and wyndowes of this ſtone would make the like varietie and muſter[2] to the eye, and would be verye delitefull to behold. this ſtone is not ſoe reconed of as it deſerveth; yt is founde in *Moelgrove* in the Cornefieldes there lyeinge looſe in the plaine grounde and not in any quarreies, and riſeth ſometymes verye Lardge, it is alſoe founde in the ſea Cliffes there, and in many other places if it were ſought for. ffor I finde it in many places in the rvins of the Abbey of *S*[t] *Dogmells:* and therefor of likelyhood not farre of to be found.

[1] Tufa, calcareous rock.

[2] A fair show.

Of other wallinge Stones there is ſuch aboundance and of ſuch ſeveralle ſortes differinge each from other almoſt in eu*ery* p*ar*iſhe that to ſpeake particularely thereof it were infinitt, and vnneceſſarie, yet doe they ſerve to many purpoſes as wallinge, hedging and ſuch like.

Now havinge deſcribed the cheeffeſt ſortes of ſtone ſervinge for building, it cometh in courſe to ſpeake of ſlates & tylinge ſtones, ſervinge for the coveringe of houſes when they are built & of †theſe this countrye yealdeth plentie and verye good nothing inferior the heigh comended ſlate of *Cornewall*, theſe tyles differ not ſo much in goodnes as in Coulor, whereof there are three ſortes, blacke, red and graye. The blacke is acompted the fineſt and is ſoe fyne of color plaine and ſmothe they will ſerve to writt on with any botkinge,[1] or to drawe any picture of beaſt, fowle and ſuch like verye fayer as alſo to make dyalls and wilbe verye eaſilie carved or graven. theſe ſtones are very lardge and thynne nothinge inferior for coulor thinnes and enduringe to thoſe fett from beyonde the ſeas which are laied on the *Royall exchange* as alſo on diverſe turretts and new buildinges in the Cittie of *london.* this ſtone is founde about *Newport* & *Dynas* in *Kemes* in the ſea Cliffes, and there hence they are ſent by water to *Harford*,[2] *Penbrok* and *Tenbye* and to dyvers partes of *Ireland* & ſould by the thowſand ſometymes deere, and ſometymes cheap as the plentie and ſcarſitie in thoſe townes doe require. but the fyneſt ſorte of theſe ſtones are found two Myles from the ſeaſide at *Coed Cadw* in the pariſhe of *Nevarne* which excell thoſe of *Newport* in all the former qualities: and one thinge is to be noted, that in theſe ſtones there are founde lumps of Mettall[3] ſhyninge like perfect copper, and to the vyw nothinge differinge from *Molton* mettell and in weight maſſie, and heavie but brittell and will be beaten into powder: to what perfection this might be brought has not yet been tried./

Tile ſtones.

Fo. 45a, anc. 42a.

[1] Bodkin.

[2] Haverford. The modern addition of 'west' had not yet got into regular use. Why and when the 'west' was added is not quite clear. A writer in the *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, vol. v, p. 150, asserts that he had learnt from the records in the Chapter House at Westminster that the town was called Haverford West to distinguish it from Haverford East, that part of the town built on the eastern bank of the Cleddau. It has also been suggested that the 'west' was added to distinguish it from Hereford, both towns being sometimes called 'Harford', or the like. Haverford is called by Lewys Dwnn (*Her. Vis.*, i, 244) 'the Syti of Herffort West'.

[3] Apparently the reference is to nodules of iron pyrites.

Next to this blacke and blewe tile is the redd tyle being of a light redd coulor, and in vſe verye durable, and hard in all reſpectes equall with the former differinge onlye in Collor, of this alſoe there is great plentie, and ſent to the Townes as the former.

The third is a ruſſet ſtone, more lardge and rougher then the other two, but more profitable to the owner, ſoe his houſe be tymbered thereafter, and the lattes[1] and nayle agreable. this ſtone is digged verye lardge three foote & ſome fowre foot longe and layed on of that biggnes cleaveth more roughe then the reſt, and therfore the lyme taking better hold then betweene the ſmoeth ſton dureth the longer on the houſe. Theſe ſtones beinge well
Fo. 45b, anc. 42b. layed on by †a good workman and of a good bande, endureth well 60 yeres and more: for there are ſome houſes covered with theſe ſtones that ſcarſe any perſon lyvinge hath ſeen a tyler on the roffe. with theſe the great fratry[2] at *S^t Dogmells* is covered many yeres ſeethence: the beſt ſtones of this kinde are found at *Pont y gwen vndy*,[3] *Coom Degwell*, *llantood*, *Henllys* and almoſt in eu*er*y quarrey between the ryver of *Nevarne* and the ſea. This kinde of ſtonne ſerveth alſoe for wallinge ſtones in *Kemes* and *Killgarran* hundredds for in the quarey it is found to lye in great flakes alwaies leaninge to the *South:* ſo that you muſt begine the quarrey from the north ſo ſhall yo^u have the backe of the Quarrey towardes yo^u: and digg it with eaſe, for it is found by experience that all the quareies of this broade kinde of Stonne are found to be all caſt Sowthward, ſo that allwayes you beginne it from the *North* and followe *Sowthwarde*, and then ſhall you finde the whole quarrey looſe before you. /

This is thought to be doon by the violence of the gen*er*all flood, which at the departinge thereof breake ſouthward and tare the erthe in peeces and ſeperated the Ilandes from the Contynent, and made the hilles and valleies as we now finde them, and turned the Courſes of the ſprings and ryvers, which was thought to be in another forme at the firſt Creation thereof. /

This ſtone being digged in the quarrey is cloven by Iron bars to the thickenes of a foot or halffe a foot, and in length and breadth iij or iiij foote, and ſo caried for walling ſtones and for tyle, they cleave the ſame to what thinnes they thinke beſt and ſo the ſelf ſame ſtone and quarrey ſerveth to beginne and end the houſe.

Theſe in effect are the kindes of ſtone worth the notinge which

[1] Laths; cf. French *latte*, whence lattice.
[2] The refectory.
[3] Pant y grwndy in St. Dogmell's parish.

experience hath brought to light: but maiſter *Holingſhed*[1] ſpeaketh vpon what Certentie I knowe not, that at Saint *Davids* in wales there is *Marble* and *Alablaster* to be founde but I could never heare of any founde by any man: but vpon the mountaine of *Perſeley* there are many lewſe ſtones found, which are verye hard †and ſmoathe of gritt and hath in diverſe of them many white ſparkes and vaynes but theſe ſtones were never yet hewen, neither is it knowne to what p*er*fection the ſame might be brought if ſkillfull workemen had the handlinge thereof, for if they might be hewen with tooles dowbtles for any qualitie ells they would be litell inferiore to the Marble.

Marble and Arblaſter at Saint Dauids.

Parceley ſtones.

Fo. 46a, anc. 43a.

Alſo at the topp of *Moeltrigarne* in *whitechurch*[2] beinge a verie heigh mountaine I founde there great ſtore of lewſe ſtones w*hi*ch were verie white of couler, and would be cutt with a kniffe, and therefore would be eaſilie hewen with tooles: whether the whole rocke be of this ſtone or to what perfection it might be brought it hath not yet been proved by any; and nowe to cloſe vpp I will ende with ſpeakinge of a ſtraunge kinde of ſtone founde in a broke in *Perſeley* which is coale blacke in Coulor, and ſoft: and his propertie is to coulor a blewe coulor vpon anythinge that is rubbed on, much like black led: but which is moſt ſtrange, it ſerveth to marke ſheepe, for countrie people takeinge two of theſe ſtones rubb the one againſt the other being wett and with the ſame rubbe their white ſheepe and marke them with an azure or blewe Coller, and without any other thinge the ſame couler will remayne all the wynter verye plaine to be ſeene on the woll, which argueth that this ſtone hath ſome Clamy ſubſtance in it, which maketh yt to ſticke to the woll that all the ſtormes and ſhewres of wynter cannot waſhe the ſame away; for to geave a couler there are many thinges but to ſticke on againſt the force of weather there moſt be ſome ſtrange propertie beſide the couleringe. this kinde of ſtone is founde in a litle Rill of water deſcending from *Perſeley* hills called in the pariſhe of *Melyney* and the Countrie people called it *Nod glas*, which in Engliſhe is blewe radle[3] or blewe markinge ſtone.

Stones at Moelttry-garn.

[1] 'If marble will not serue, then haue we the finest alabaster that maie elsewhere bee had, as about saint Dauids of Wales.' (Holinshed, i, 395.)

[2] The parish of Eglwys Wen, in Kemes, of which George Owen Harry was parson in the author's days.

[3] The raddle, or reddle, is really a red pigment.

Fo. 46b, anc. 43b.

Of *Caſtells ffortes & ſtronge holdes in this Sheere and of the Citties & townes thereof.* Caput decimum./

Concerninge the firſt buildinge of the caſtells and townes of this Countrie I had once determyned to have written thereof a parte by it ſelf; but afterwardes lookinge into the ende of my worke I ſawe if I ſoe did, I ſhould be forced to write twiſe of eache of them & ſo to iterate my wordes w*hi*ch were labour loſt & tediouſe to the reader: and therfore I have deferred to ſpeake thereof till I come to intreate of eache particulare pariſhe and places of note within the ſame: where I will deliver my knowledge of each towne & caſtell what Memoriall I have ſeene or read of the ſame as to a place more fitt and apt to intreat thereof then here: onlie one gen*er*all note I thinke good to geave in this place that all the Caſtells and townes of this Countrie for the moſt parte were built by our conqueroure Erle *Strongbowe* and his knightes to whom he gave the lande and their poſteritie as places to defend themſelves againſt the incurſions of the princes of wales: ſo that ſuch townes and caſtells as were built here before the cominge of the ſaid Erle *Strongbowe*, were ſo altered and tranſformed by his Cominge, as the former ſtate thereof is vtterlie forgotten, and onlie ſome auncient names remayne and nothinge ells[1]: neither is it knowne perfectlie what townes or caſtells were here before their cominge, nor in what ſtate of abillitie or ſtrength they were for vntill the cominge of *Strongbowe* hyther, this countrie of *Dyvet* was neu*er* conquered[2] eyther by *Saxons*, *Danes*, *Romaines* nor *Normains*, but the auncient Inhabitantes ſtill contynved their poſſeſſions, allthoughe diverſe tymes interrupted by ſodaine ſkirmages by Lande & ſpoiles from ſea: onlie the Cittie of

[1] The author says in the *Baronia* that the Welsh castles, the origin of so many place-names in the county, were 'rounde turrets without anye court-ledge', of which no traces remained in his time but 'highe and rounde toompes of earth'.

[2] There is evidence that the Romans and the Saxons were both here. From the numerous Norse names in the county, it is evident that the Scandinavian settlement must have been strong and lasting. See Laws' *Little England*, cap. 6.

S^t Davids and the territories thereaboutes I take to contynve the ſame inhabytantes as it was before, for that the conquerors p*ro*tected the ſame as holie lande conſecrated to the ſervauntes of god, and therfore it was counted amonge theſe bloodie men an ympietie to offer violence to any lande or people beinge in the poceſſion of the Churche, althoughe in theſe daies of peace our ſeared conſciences will not bluſhe to take it, and to ſnatche any parte of the Churche lyvinges, yea and the Churche it ſelf, if wee ſee it but hange lowſe: ſo are the myndes of men altered with the tyme vntill tyme turne men into duſt./

Fo. 47a, anc. 44a.

Of *the ſeverale ſortes of ffuell that the Countrie yealdeth.* Caput xi./

Woodds

The ſeverall kinde of ffuell that ſerveth the inhabitantes of this Sheere is wood, ſeacoale, Turffe, furſe both frenche and tame,[1] broome, fearne, and heath, all w*hi*ch are vſed in ſeueralle partes of the ſheere, and for ſeveralle purpoſes: and firſt for wood; this Countrie groneth with the gen*er*alle complainte of other countries of the decreaſinge of wood; for I finde by matters of Recorde that diverſe great Corne fieldes were in tymes paſt great fforeſtes and woodes. the beſt ſtandinge woodes at this preſent of *Penbrokſhire* wherewith the Countrie is ſerved for buildinges and other neceſſaries are theſe that followe:

Narberth forest
Killgarran
Coed Traeth[2]
Caneston

Mynewer
Penkelly[3]
Killreth
*hook wood**
Vpton.

*Originally 'Coed'.

woodes of divers gentlemen ſufficient to ſerve their houſes of fuell and ſome for buildinges./.

Picton.
Boulston.
Wiston.

Throſtlwoode[4]
lloyn gwayr[5]

weſtern Trewgarne
Eſtern Trewgarne

[1] See note 1 on p. 94, below.

[2] Leland, writing in 1549, says of this wood (*Itin.*, v, 75), 'I roode thorough a wood not veri greate, but yet the fairest that I remembre that I saw in Penbrokshire.' It is called 'Coidrath' in Saxton's and Speed's Maps, and was situate to the W. of Amroth. See p. 46 (note) and p. 49, above.

[3] In Eglwyswrw parish; Killreth (Cilrhydd) was the forest which surrounded Pentre Evan Cromlech. It is called *Kilrhyth* in the *Description of Wales.* See Appendix.

[4] In Castlemartin.

[5] Near Newport.

Coed kynles.
llannerche.[1]
Killkythed.[2]
Diffryn gwayn.[3]
Argoed.[4]
Henllis } *Wenallt* }
Beinton.

Rams Buſhe[5]
Perſkyly[6]
vper Talch
Nether Talch[7]
Creſwell
Mote[8]
Walton
Woodstock[9]

lloyn y gorres[10]
Drym[11]
Naſhe
langom./

†woodes and fforeſtes in tymes paſt and nowe deſtroyed & errable lande./ Fo. 47b, anc. 44b.

lloydarch forest[12]
Rywgian[13]
Moelgrove
Coed Cadw[14]

Coed llong[15]
Mouncton park
The wood by Newe gall
Cron lloyn./[16]

with theſe woodes & other of the meaner ſorte w*hi*ch I cannot remember, moſt of the gentlemen of the Sheere are well ſerved with wood for their ffuell, but for the moſt parte thoſe that dwell neere the coale or that may have it caried by water with eaſe, vſe moſt coale fiers in their kitchins and ſome in their halls, becauſe it is a readie fier & very good and ſweete to roſt and boile meate; and void of ſmoake where yll chymneyes are, and doth not require a mans labour to Cleave wood & feed the fier contynvallie. Next vnto the woode or rather to be preferred before it for ſmell is the coale fier for the generalitie of it, as that which ſerveth moſt people and eſpeciallie the cheiffe townes. This coale may be nombred as one of the cheiffe comodities of this Countrie and is ſo neceſſarie as without it the Countrie would be in great diſtreſſe, it is called ſtone Coale for the hardenes thereof, and is burned in Chimneies and grates of Iron, and beinge once kindled geaveth a greater heate then light, and deliteth to burne in darke places, it ſerveth alſo for ſmythes to worke, thoughe not ſo well as the other kinde of Coale *Coales.*

[1] In the parish of Clydey.
[2] In Llan-y-chaer parish.
[3] See next chapter.
[4] This and the two next lie together.
[5] Rams Wood in Rudbaxton parish.
[6] Priskilly Forest.
[7] Both Talchs are in Slebech parish.
[8] Henry's Moat; the Welsh name is Castell Hendref.
[9] In Ambleston parish.
[10] In Nevern parish.
[11] In Lawhaden parish.
[12] Llwydarth, the forest of the Bishops of S. David's, in Llan y Cefn parish. It is called in Leland, *Itin.*, v, 28, 'Lloydarth'. See p. 97, note 2.
[13] 'Rhygian', in Newport parish.
[14] See p. 80.
[15] In Clydey parish.
[16] Cronllwyn, once a park of the lords of Kemes.

called the runing[1] Coale, for that when it firſt kindleth it melteth & runeth as wax & groweth into one Clod, where as this Stone Coale burneth a parte & neuer Clingeth together. This kinde of Coale is not noyſome for the ſmoake, nor nothinge ſoe loathſome for the ſmell as the ringe[1] coale is whoſe ſmoake annoyeth all thinges neere it, as fine Lynen, and mens handes that warme themſelves by it, but this ſtone Coale yealdeth in a maner noe ſmoake after it is kindled, and is ſo pure that fine Camricke or Lawne is vſuallie dried by it without any ſtaine or bleamiſhe, and is a moſt proved good dryer of mault therein paſſinge wood, ferne, or ſtrawe. This Coale for the rare qualitie thereof was Caried out of this Countrie to the Citie of *London* to the late lorde treaſurer *Burley*[2] by a gentleman of experience to ſhewe howe farre the ſame excelled that of newcaſtell, wherwith the Citie of *London* is ſerved . and I thinke, if the paſſinge were not ſoe tediouſe there would be great vſe made of it . and nowe that I ame come to entreate of this our Countrie

Fo. 48a, anc. 45a. coales †I muſt remember my promiſe made before where I ſpake of the veynes of lymeſtones which I ſaid was found to acompanie the veynes of Coales . and therefore I will in as fewe wordes as I Can ſhewe you the naturall courſe of this coale, & howe the ſame doth acompanie the lymeſtone vayne : I ſaied before[3] that I found out two vaynes of lymeſtone to have their originale here in *Penbrokſhire*, and that their Courſe holdeth eſtward as before I have declared at lardge, betweene both w*hi*ch vaynes of lymeſtone the coale is founde to followe, but not ſoe open as the lymeſtone in eu*ery* place with the lymeſtone but in many places where the ſtone ſheweth, the coale hideth himſelf & where the coale is founde, ſometymes the lymeſtone lurketh vnderground, and in many places they are found neere together : and firſt our coales have ben found neere *Talbenye* and ſo followeth on to *Johnston* & there found ; then at *frestrop* great ſtore, & ſo at *Picton :* it is alſo found by the ſouther vaine of lymeſtone at *Jefreston*, & from thence to *Bygelly*. this firſt vayne of Coale followeth the firſt vayne of lymeſtone keapinge on the ſouth ſide of it to the water, & ſo to the mouth of *Towye* over the barre of *Car-*

The vaine of Coale. *merthen*, where the verie vayne of Coale is founde on the barr by founding & ſoe throwe *Carmerthen ſhire* and *Brecknock ſhire* and

[1] This means bituminous or 'soft' coal ; in Welsh called *glo rhwym*, *glo rhing*, or *glo cwlwm* (Lewis's *Top. Dict. of Wales*, art. 'Brecknockshire'), from its partly *running* into a semi-liquid mass, *binding*, and caking when ignited. The Pembrokeshire coal-measures are all of the anthracite, 'hard', or non-flaming kind.

[2] Sir William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, died 1598.

[3] See pp. 64-8.

ſoe to *Monmouth Sheere;* as I have before declared the courſe of that lymestone vayne.

This other vayne of coale which I ſpake of at *Jefreston* acompanieth the ſeconde vayne of lymeſtone on the northe ſide thereof within half a myle of the lymeſtone and paſſeth Eſt to *Sannders foot* and there acompaining the lymeſtone to the ſea & ſheweth againe neere *llanridian* & *loughorn* as I ſaid before, & ſoe throwe *gower* to the *Mombles* and vnder the ſea over to *Kynffig water*, and throwe all *Glamorgan* and *Monmouth ſhires* over *Awst* & to *Bristow* the coale allwaies acompayninge the lymeſtone a myle on the northe of it, but in this courſe both of the vaynes of lymeſtone and coale one thinge is to be noted, that the further Eſt the vaynes runne the ſofter groweth both the coal & lymſtone, & the eaſier to be digged./[1]

Diggeinge of Coales.

The digginge of this coale is of ancient tyme vſed in *Penbrok ſhire* but not in ſuch exact and ſkillfull ſorte as now it is ſfor in former tyme they vſed no engines for liftinge vpp of the coales out of the pitt but made their entraunce ſlope, ſo as the people caried the coales vppon their backes alonge ſtayres which they called lande wayes where as nowe they ſinke their pittes downe right fowre ſquare about vj or vij foot ſquare, and with a wyndeles turned by fowre men, they drawe vpp the coales a barell full at once by a rope ; this they call a downe right dore.[2] the Lordes of the lande hath

Fo. 48b, anc. 45b.

The land-lord's parts of the Coales.

[1] The 'two veins of coal' described by the author are in fact parts of the same continuous series of coal-measures known collectively as the South Wales coal-field. This coal-field may be compared in shape to an elongated pear, of which the thick end has its apex at Pontypool and Blaenavon in Monmouthshire, while the extremity of the thin end disappears under the waters of St. Bride's Bay. The author's account requires supplementing or correcting in the following particulars: The northern and southern ends of the coal-measures disappear under the sea in Carmarthen Bay at Marros and Tenby respectively, to reappear again at Kidwelly and Llanridian respectively. Portions of the northern outcrop of Mountain Limestone (but no coal-measures) appear near Laugharne (see note 4 on p. 65). The coal-measure formation is continuous along the land between Kidwelly and Kenfig, though twice scooped into by the sea. The coal-field does not extend E. of Pontypool in Monmouthshire. The limestone of Gwent Is Coed (between Magor and Chepstow), which crosses the Severn by Aust (and perhaps also between Magor and Portishead), is quite isolated by older rocks from the South Wales coal-field (see note 2 on p. 66, above), and is not accompanied by any coal-measures in its course through Monmouthshire. The Mountain Limestone of the S. Wales coal-field seems connected with that of the Bristol coal-field along the line marked by the emergent masses of Sully Island, the Steep and Flat Holmes, Brean Down, Worlebury, etc.—E. P.

[2] Door.

eyther rent, or the third barell after all chardges of the worke deducted. the cole is firſt founde out by a ſmale apparaunce thereof which they call the edge, which beinge founde they ſearch which way the vayne leaneth and on the contrarie ſide they beginne to *howe coale is founde.* ſinke, for the coale is founde to lye ſlope in the grounde, and ſeldome downeright; the coale being founde the worke-men followe the vayne eu*ery* way vntill it ende or be letted[1] by water or rocke; the vayne for the moſt parte will not be paſſinge v or vj foote deepe, ſo that the coale is caried ſtoopinge; for they comonlye leave a foote of coale in the bottome vndigged to ſerve for a ſtronge foundation except they finde the rocke vnder foote, which they call the *Doonstone*[2] which if they finde then they digg cleane all the coale, and further then that ſtone they looke for noe coale: and overhead they are driven to tymber their worke to keape the earthe from fallinge which is chardgeable. but in ſome groundes they have a rocke above and then they ſave much Labour and coſt in ſparing of tymber./

Water in colepitts. In theſe workes the water ſpringes are trobleſome which they avoid by ſinkinge a great pitt right vnder the doore to w*hi*ch all the water will ronne & from thence drawe it vpp with a wyndles by barells or ells by makinge a levell as they call it, w*hi*ch is by a way digged vndergrounde, ſomewhat lower then the worke to bringe a paſſadge for the water, this is verie chardgeable & may coſte ſometymes xx^{li} and oftentymes more. they nowe moſt comonlie ſinke downe right xij xvj or xx fathome before they come to the cole whereas in ould tyme fowre fathome was counted a great laboure: when they finde it, they worke ſondrie holes one for eu*ery* digger ſome two ſome three or fowre as the nomber of diggers are: each man workinge by candle light and ſitting while he worketh, then have they bearers which are boyes that beare the coales in Fo. 49a, anc. 46a. fitt baſketts on their backes †goinge allwaies ſtoopinge by reaſon of the lownes of the pitt. eache bearer carieth this baſkett vj fathome where, vpon a benche of ſtone he layeth it, where meeteth him another boy w*i*th an emptie baſkett, which he geaveth him and taketh that which is full of Coales and Carieth it as farre, where another meeteth him & ſo till they come vnder the doore where it is lifted vpp. In one pitt there will be ſixteene perſons whereof there will be three pickaxes digging, ſeaven bearers, one filler, fowre wynders, two ridlers, who ridle the coales when it is aland, firſt to drawe the ſmale coale from the bigg by one kinde of ridle: then the

[1] Obstructed.

[2] There is a Lowland Scotch word 'doon', meaning *goal*.

ſeconde ridlinge with a ſmaler Ridle with which they drawe ſmale coales for the ſmythes from the colme[1] which is in deede but verie duſt, w*hi*ch ſerveth for lyme burninge, : theſe perſons will Lande about eightie or hundred barells of coale in a daye ; Their tooles about this worke is pickaxes with a rounde poll, weadges & ſleadges to batter the rockes that croſſe their worke./

All tymes of the yeare is indifferent for workinge but the hott weather is worſt by reaſon of ſodaine dampes that happen, w*hi*ch often tymes cauſeth the workemen to ſounde[2] and will not ſuffer the Candles to burne, but the flame waxinge blewe of Coulor will of them ſelfs out . they worke from ſixe a Clocke to ſixe a Clocke & reſt an howre at noone, and eat their alowance as they terme it w*hi*ch is ob[3] in bread to everie man & iiij[d] in drinke amonge a dozen : this is of Cuſtome on the chardge of the pitt allthoughe they work on their owne Chardge : all their worke is by Candell light throweout the yeare./

The Coale they finde, is either an ore Coale, a ſtringe or a flatche[4] as I have learned their termes: the oare is the beſt & is a great vayne ſpreadinge eu*er*y way & endureth longeſt; the ſtringe is a ſmale narowe vayne ſometymes ij iij or iiij foote in biggnes and runneth downe right & is allwayes found betweene two rockes : a flatch they call a peece of Coale by it ſelf founde in the erthe & is quiklie digged about and noe more to be founde of that peece./ *Three ſortes of coale mynes.*

The firſt of theſe three ſortes is the beſt, then the next and laſt acounted worſt of all./

†The dangers in digging theſe coales is the fallinge of the earth and quellinge[5] of the poore people or ſtopping of the way forthe, & ſoe die by famyne, or ells the ſodayne Irruption of ſtandinge waters in ould workes : the workemen of this black laboure obſerve all abolliſhed holie daies and can not be waynde[6] from that follie. Fo. 49b, anc. 46b.

About three yeres paſt there was a gen*er*alle & new Impoſition or Cuſtome[7] rayſed vpon the Coales throwe out the Realme, which was, that for eu*er*y Chaudron tranſported her Ma*je*ſtie ſhould have of Cuſtome ; w*hi*ch was after the rate of iiij[d] for

[1] The term *culm* was 'applied originally to the inferior slaty coal of Devonshire' (Archibald Geikie's *Text-Book of Geology*, 1882, p. 748) ; it is also used in the early statutes relating to coal. It means friable or powdery coal.

[2] Swoon, more usually spelt 'swound'.

[3] *Obolus*, a halfpenny.

[4] A loose piece ; akin to 'slack' and 'slag'.

[5] Killing. The root of both words is the same.

[6] Weaned.

[7] This duty was 5*s*. per chaldron.

eu*er*y barell where as the price of the barell was but vi^{d}, ſo that the Cuſtome was neere as much as the price of the Coale, and the like Cuſtome was demaunded for the Colme w*hi*ch was ſold but for jd the barell, for this the *Iriſhemen* who are ſerved from this Countrie & the ſeamen greatlie Complained alledging their trade ympaired and that it would turne to the decaye of ſhipping, but the Countrie people well liked of it, as that which might be a meanes to ſtaie the tranſportinge, which hath greatlie inhaunczed the price and is feared that in tyme will wholely weare out the Coale & ſo leave the Countrie deſtitute of ffuell : but vpon Complainte of her Ma*jeſ*ties subiectes of *Ireland* this impoſition is remytted for the Iriſhemen. And nowe I being amonge the coale pittes I will ſpeak of a ſtrange event[1] that hapened in a Coale pitt at *Jefreiston* in the yeare of our lord 1601./

Fo. 50a, anc. 47a. *Turffe or Peate.*

†Next vnto the coale the cheiffeſt fuell is the peate called comonly *Turffe*, which is a kinde of blacke rotten Earth and is founde in lowe Moores where ſtandinge water anoyeth the grounde, and in the topp of the heighe and wett Mountayne of *Perſeley* where it is digged in great plentie ·. moſt of the people adioyninge to this Mountaine vſe this kinde of fuell, which beinge well vſed is ſingulare good, but if the ſame be eyther yll ſeasoned or yll placed to burne in the houſe, as out of Chymneies the ſmell thereof is loath-ſome : which is the onlie diſcomoditie of this fuell, for otherwiſe it is little inferioure to the coale . there is great difference of theſe turffes acordinge to the place where it groweth, ſome beinge verie good yealdinge a better heate and ſweete without yll ſavour, other worſe in burninge : and hath a loathſome ſmell : the beſt is that which leaveth ſmale or noe aſhes behinde it, and thoſe White of coulor. the other that leaveth great quantitie of aſhes, and that gravellye and reddiſhe, black, and browne in Couler is acompted of a worſer kinde. Theſe turffes are digged with an Iron for y^{e} purpoſe and are in forme ſquare two ynches like barres of Iron about a foote longe, when they are digged they are caried out of the pitt, and

[1] A quarter of a page is left blank in the MS. for the recital of this strange event.

being half drie pyled vpon ende everie five or ſixe together to drie, and being thus dried throwlie they are led home, & layed then vp in drie roomes to vſe at neade ; there hath ben great proffers Made by men of experience to bringe this kinde of fuell to be verye comodiouſe for the realme, and as I have harde ſome have optayned a Monopolie of the ſame, as to turne it to charckcoale to make it burne without anoyaunce, what ſucceſſe it taketh I have not hard ; but I ame perſwaded that yt might be brought to farre better perfection then it is as the comon people nowe vſe it : for I have hard that in ſome partes of this realme it ſerveth for Iron workes : and in *Cardigan ſhire* it is ſaied that the ſmythes worke with them : but if by the induſtrie of ſome good and well practized man it might be brought to any good perfection, dowbtles it would p*ro*ve verye beneficiall to the whole Comons of this Countrie, for that the Mountaines doe yeald thereof ſuch plentie as would ever ſerve and contynve. *Gucherdin*[1] in his deſcription of *Holland* Comendeth this as a principall & the ſeconde Chieffe comoditie of that province, that the Cuſtome thereof paid in one towne onlye amounteth in the yeare to 3000 ducattes to the kinge of *Spaine*. *Turffe in Holland.*

†The fourth principalle and moſt vſuale fuell is furſe called in ſome partes *gorſe*, which all partes of the ſheere yeald in great aboundance, as a ſhrobbe wher vnto the ſoile is naturallie inclyned, ſo that where the ſame once groweth, the Lande will hardlie be ridd of them, but eyther by lyminge or Marlinge of the ſoile : this fuell ſerveth eſpeciallie for bakinge and brewinge. but in ſome partes growen to that greatnes that the tymber of them ſerve as a principall wood for fiers in halles, Chambers and kitchinnes ; for it is verie vſualle to have the ſtables[2] of a foote Compaſſe and eight or nyne foote heighe. and of late for triall of a wager there a furſe ſtalke meaſured to be a yarde wantinge three inches in Compaſſe. the fier made of the wood of the ſtalkes of these furſe is very ſweete and yealdeth greater heat & a clearer fier then any other wood. theſe furſe keape greene all the wynter, and the toppes of them are good foode for the Cattle, beſide when they growe to any greatnes, it is the beſt ſhelter that Cattell have, and geaveth them warme lodginge in the wynter ſeaſon and the lande that beareth this kinde of furſe is acompted good corne Lande, and the onlie meane to procure the furſe to ſpringe vpp beinge once decayed is to plowe

Fo. 50b, anc. 47b. *Furſe.*

[1] Luigi Guicciardini, nephew of the more famous Francesco, published his *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* in 1588.

[2] *Staples*, stems.

the Lande, and tylle it for 3 or 4 yeres and to let it lye and preſentlie the furſe will ſpringe vpp againe as the *phenix* is ſaid to doe out the Aſhes of her aunceſtor./

Another kinde of furſe there is called ſmale or tame furres of ſome welſhe furſe w*hi*ch is a smale and ſhorte furſe growinge on badd ground and never groweth to any great height yet ſerveth to bake and brewe, and the Lande that beareth this is counted baren and ſhallowe. this laſt kinde bloſometh with the heath in the later end of harveſt againſt wynter, whereas the former accompanieth the brome and bloweth in Maye againſt the ſommer, the former kinde beareth his ſeede in ſmale codds like peaſe coddes & beinge ſowen will proſper./.[1]

Fearne. ffearne is but a weake fuell and ſerveth for bruinge and other wiſe for the pooreſt ſort of people that can not better p*ro*vide themſelves.

Heathe. The heath groweth in the mountaines in this Countrie of a great height, and is pulled vpp by the rootes by poore people & ſerveth for fier, this longe heath ſerveth for meate for Cattle, when the hie mountaines are cou*er*ed with ſnowe and nothinge open but the toppes of this heath whereon the Cattle in this †extremytie will feed and ſave themſelves till the ground be vncovered, but I have hard that this kinde of heath beinge Cutt in ſommer and made in

Fo 51a, anc. 48a.

[1] The species alluded to is the Dwarf Furze (*Ulex nanus*), probably of the variety *Ulex gallica* (or *Gallii*), said to be the prevalent form in Wales. *U. nanus* flowers in the 'summer and autumn', the Common Furze (*U. Europæus*) in the 'spring and early summer, commencing occasionally in winter, or even late in autumn' (Bentham's *Handbook*).

The 'French Furze' of p. 86 must refer to *U. Europæus*, which is so called in Withering, and is still called *Eithin Ffrengig* in S. Cardiganshire, where the *U. nanus* is called *Eithin Mân.* 'French Furze' is similarly used in Pembrokeshire. *Eithin Ffrengig* seems also the only term acknowledged for 'furze' by Dr. John Davies in 1632; it should be added that the Welsh term *eithin* was not confined to furze, but that *Eithin yr Ieir* ('Hens' Furze') and *Crach Eithin* ('Bastard Furze') are names given for the Petty Whin (*Genista Anglica*), and actually for the Rest-harrow (*Ononis arvensis*).

The 'tame furze' of p. 86 means the Dwarf Furze, which is still called 'Tam Furze' in Cornwall, where *tam* means 'dwarf'.

Ffrengig or 'French' is usually applied in Welsh to *non-indigenous* plants, trees, or animals, believed to have been introduced by the Normans or from France (*e.g.*, *llygod Ffrengig*, 'rats,' *cnau Ffrengig*, 'walnuts'); but the epithet as applied to the *indigenous* furze probably meant 'luxuriant', that sense arising from the facts that 'French' and 'cultivated' were more or less synonymous terms, and that plants are made more luxuriant by culture. The Common Furze will grow to a great size, as our author points out.—E. P.

reekes[1] is the cheffeſt and ſweeteſt fuell[2] for drieing of Mault, therein paſſinge bothe the wood & ſtrawe, I would I might once ſee the experience hereof which as yet was never tried in this Countrie./ *Drieinge of malt with heath:/*

[1] 'Reek' is the old form of 'rick'. See *Promptorium Parvulorum*, 428.

[2] Lewis states in a note that after reading this passage he dried his malt in the manner suggested, and found the result excellent. In the same note he laments that in his memory most of the great mansions in the county had been stripped of their trees.

Of *the chieffe rivers of this ſheere that have their courſe through out the ſame or that have their riſinges in the ſame and endinges in other Countries.* Caput duodecimum.

In this place wher I purpoſe to intreate of chieffe rivers in generalle, I have determyned to ſpeake of nonne but ſuch Rivers and brookes as keape theire courſe & name vntill they fall into the ſea and ronne at the leaſt two myles, breefflie mentioninge ſuch rills and brookes as they receave in the waye, for the reſt that fall into thoſe rivers & ſo ende before they come to the ſea althoughe ſome be bigger ſtreames then ſome other that contynve their names till the ſea. yet have I determyned to forbeare them in this place and will treate of them in the particular hundreds where they riſe & ſpringe. And of theſe principalle Ryverrs I will firſt intreate of the both *Cleddeies* whoſe ioynt fall maketh the famouſe porte or havon of *Myllford*, and in the brittiſhe tonnge taketh name of theſe two ryvers and is called *Aberdoygledde* that is the Mouthe or fall of both *Cleddeies*. and in deſcribing of them I muſt varie a litle from him, that gave inſtructions to maiſter *Holingſhed*[1] of the riſinges and courſes of all or moſt of the rivers of *England* in his ſecond booke of the deſcription of brittaigne & ſecond chapter: for that it is Contrarie to myne owne knowledge, as alſoe from Maiſter *Saxtons* Mapps, who hath (as I perceave) followed the ſaid deſcriptione of Maiſter *Holingſhed* for moſt Rivers. & firſt whereas both maiſter *Holingſhed* & maiſter *Saxton* in his Mapp ſheweth
Cledde. that the ſaid river *Cledde*[2] riſeth out of *Vrenny Vawr hill:* yt is
Fo. 51b, anc. 48b. not ſoe for it ſpringeth in *Blaen y gors* in *Managlogddy* and †runinge
Kewgill. weſt receaveth into it a Rill from be north called *Kewgill* riſinge at *Bulch vngwr* and paſſinge further receaveth from by eaſt a Rill
Bray. that riſeth above Capell *Cawey* called *Bray* & is in that place the lanſker betweene *Penbrok* and *Carmerthen* ſheeres: from thence the ſaid *Clethe* rvnneth as a lanſkarre betweene the ſaid Sheeres to

[1] Holinshed, in the 'Description of Britaine' prefixed to his *Chronicles* (ed. 1807, i, 133), says, "The Clothie riseth at the foot of Wrennie vaur hill."

[2] The *Cleddau Ddu*, or Eastern Cleddau.

Managlogddy Church where it receaveth the ryver *Clydagh* from the northe ſpringing out of *Coom Kerwyn*[1] hill, & from thence contynveth lanſkare betweene both Sheeres & cometh to *Langolman* where it receaveth from the north a Rill called *Llony* & runinge betweene the pariſhes of *Llandiſillio* and *Llanykeven* ſtill parteth both ſheeres vntill a rill runing from *Ryd ymiler* fall into it, which at that place p*ar*teth both the ſheeres, and then cometh *Penbrokſhire* over the ryver againe at *Llandiſillio* & the ryver contynvinge his courſe receaveth into it the river *Breynan ddy* whoſe ſpringe is from *Carne yr avar* and rvnneth weſt of *lloydarth*[2]; and further downe at *Tregïndeg* it receaveth *Breynan wen*, whose ſpringe is at *Blacknock* moore, and runneth betweene the pariſhes of *Manclochog* & *Moate*[3] by *Merlan*[4] & then the ſaid ryver *Cledde* paſſinge by *Egermont* leavinge it in *Carmarthen* ſheere, although by *Maister Saxtons Mapps* in *Penbrok* ſhire; beneath *Egermonte* receaveth a rill called *Crymig* w^ch^ there parteth *Penbrok* & *Carmerthen ſhires* againe. *Penbrok* againe ſtreatchinge it ſelf over the ſame and beneathe *Egermont* receaveth into it the river *Syvynvey* being well neere as bigg as it ſelf w^ch^ cometh by *llangridge* from *walton*[5]: *Cleddey* rvninge forward vnder *llawhaden* bridge receaveth from the Eaſt the river *Marlais* cominge from *Longford*, and before it cometh to *Caneston* bridge yt receaveth into it a rill called *gloyn*[6] rvninge throwe *Narberth foreſt* & from thence it rvneth by *Talch wood* to *Slebech* & betweene *Picton* & *Mynewere* at *Roſe* Caſtle[7] point meeteth with the other *Cleddey* that cometh from *Harford* and there ioyninge where *Aberdoyglethe* beginneth. the other *Cleddey* that cometh from *Harford* hath her courſe as followeth./

Clydach Auſtralis. *Llony.* *Breynan ddwy.* *Breynan wen.* *Crymig.* *Syvynwey.* *Marlais.* *Gloyn.*

The other *Clethe* called *Clethe wen* ryſeth at *llygad Clethe* w^ch^ in engliſhe is called *Clethes-eye* in the p*ar*iſhe of *llanvayre nant y gove* & goeth to *Kelly r moch* where it parteth the lordſhipps of *Kemes* and *Dewſland* & there falleth into a great Moore called *llanſtynan* moore paſſinge by *llanſtinan*[8] church to *llanſtinan* bridge where a litle beneath, it receaveth in a Rill from be north that ryſeth ſhorte of *Trebrithyn*, and ſo holdinge on her courſe †weſtwarde, a

Cledde wen. Fo. 52a, anc. 49a.

[1] The highest point of the Precelly range (see Oxford *Mabinogion*, 138, l. 16).

[2] Llwydarth, in the parish of Llan y Cefn, whence the name of Llandeilo Llwydarth. ('Lannteliau Litgarth, in fin Doucledif ha Chemeis, Mainaur.'—*Lib. Land.*, 244; cf. 117.) See p. 87, note 12.

[3] New Moat.

[4] Forlan.

[5] Walton East.

[6] Cf. p. 101, note 3.

[7] Picton Point, formerly known as Rice or Rise Castle Point from an earthwork thereon.

[8] See p. 112, note 3.

BAYERISCHE STAATS-BIBLIOTHEK MUENCHEN

Kyllell. litle above *lloyngwaran* bridge it receaveth from the eſt the *Kylleth*[1] which riſeth at *Carn Divo* Moore & rvninge together vnder *lloyn gwaran* bridge before it cometh to *Pont Melyn moris* it receaveth *Marlais.* the *Marlais* that riſeth neere Castle *Kynles* and paſſeth by Caſtle *Moris* & ſo to *Perſkely* & then cominge to *Stone hall* in *S*[t] *Lawrence* pariſhe & to *wolfes* Caſtle, where from the eaſt it receaveth a nameles[2] ryver that cometh from *Pontchardston* from *Angof.* thence it turneth towardes *Trewgarne* but first receaveth in a rill from *Bremeston* which parteth the hundreds of *Dewſland* from *Rowſe* and ſo rvninge betweene both *Trewgarns* it there receaveth from the eaſt a forked rill that riſeth neere *Ambleſton:* from whence foreward it contynveth the Lanſkar betweene the hundreds of *Rowſe* and *Dongledy*, and ſoe contynvinge weſtward beneath *Redbaxton* yt receaveth a forked broke from the eaſt the one braunche whereof ryſeth in *Newtowne* Moore, the other Cometh from *Poiston*,[3] from thence it rvneth forward towardes *Haverford-west*. but before it cometh to *Elliots hill* receaveth the broke that paſſeth vnder *Pelcan* bridge and *Camros*, and a litle beneath it receaveth another Rill that cometh from *lamston* and ſo paſſeth by *Prendergast.* *Prendergast* and vnder *Haverford* bridge, beneath which, it re-*Kyllell.* ceaveth another River[4] at *Callott*[5] which riſeth neere *Walton* village and then beneath *Haroldston* it receaveth a broke from the weſt which riſeth in the moore Eaſt of *Hareston west becon* and rvneth by *Saint Margrets* Chapple, and ſo to *Devnant*, and ſo vnder the *Mavdlens*[6] & *Hareston* bridge diſchardgeth it ſelf into the ſaid *Cledde:* where *Cleddey* beinge now turned ſalt contynveth on bendinge

[1] The colloquial form of *Cyllell*, 'a knife', in parts of Wales (see note 4, below).

[2] The Sealy, whose upper waters are still called the *Angof.* The tradition is that it was called 'the forgotten river' because no name was put to it.

[3] The birthplace of General Picton.

[4] This (the Cyllell Gam) seems to be the river which Leland mentions (*Itin.*, v, 28): "Ther is a litle Rille betuixt the 2 *Gleves* caullid *Kollell*, i.e., *Cultellus*." And, further on: "Betwixt the two Gleves by Harford West is a litle Ryveret caullid in Walsch [Cyllell], in Englisch 'Knife'. One beyng requirid wher he lay al night, answerid that he lay having a swerd on eche side of hym, and a knife at his Hart, alluding to the 3 Ryvers in the midle of whom he lay al night." Holinshed (i, 132) gives this 'merrie tale of a Welshman', but attributes it to the stream which joins the Cleddau at Milling Pill. He says (but without authority) that Leland called the Cartlet brook the Gwilie, a form manufactured from the *Gleue* of Leland's autograph MS. Fenton (p. 342) attributes the story to the Cyllell first mentioned above.

[5] Cartlet, formerly called Cathlotte and Carthlott.

[6] Mawdlens, now called Merlin's, Bridge. The remains of St. Margaret's Chapel are near this bridge.

ſomewhat ſouth eaſt, rvneth betweene *hook wood* & *Boulston* and ſo with ioye meateth her other ſiſter of like name and lovinglie joyneth to make the fayer haven of *Myllford*, become both a ſalt ſea of a myle broade and xvi myles longue before they forſake their native Countrie. for whoſe good they ſend forthe many faier braunches on eyther ſide ſervinge dyvers townes villages and gentlemens howſes, with eaſie tranſportinge and Cariadge of neceſſaries and Comodiouſe fiſhinges, and at the dale[1] turneth right ſouthe makinge a goodlie porte or entraunce of two myles broade & then by Curſe of nature yeald themſelves to the ſea the endinge of all Rivers, where not forgettinge the naturall love of Native Countrie twiſe everye day returne as yt were with a lovinge Care to ſee & ſalute their auncient offſpringe and not ſoe content with dailie travell every fortnight. force themſelves to preſſe further vpp makinge a great tyde, which we for difference of the others call the ſpringe tydes./

†The next river that now cometh in Courſe to be ſpoken of in this place is the river that falleth into the ſea at *Newgall* & parteth the hundred of *Rowſe* from *Dewſland*, who althoughe it be but a ſmale brooke, yet for that I finde it to make a fall into the ſea, and is of that lengthe that my purpoſe here admytteth, to ſpeake of the name: whereof as of all other ſmale brookes that are amonge the Engliſhe Inhabitantes are forgotten, althoughe the ſmalleſt brookes and rills to this day retayne their auncient names amonge the Welſhemen. This water riſeth in a moore neere Trethyog, a village in *Saint Edrins* pariſhe & paſſeth from thence by Castell *villa*, Williamſton, *Tanckardston* & *Eweston* & betweene *Newgall* and the wood falleth to the ſea vnder *Newgall* bridge in the lardge & great baye called *Bridbay*[2]: although this be a brooke of ſome note, and for manye Cauſes to have ben reſpected: yet did *maister Saxton* in his Mapp of *Pembrokſhire* omytt the ſame by what means or cauſe I cannot Judge havinge taken paynes with thoſe of leſſe quantitie and moment./ Fo. 52b, anc. 49b. *Newgall water.*

Then followeth next at hande *Solvaigh*[3] water to be ſpoken of, whoſe ſpringe is out of *gwern y Barry*[4] & rvninge by *llanrythan* at *lloghmiler* receaveth a rill that cometh from *llandeloy* and ſo paſſeth by *Kerbyt* and *Caervoriog* and then turninge ſoutherlie her courſe, diſchargeth it ſelf at *Solvagh*[3] havon, where it maketh a portlett for ſmale ſhippinge and ſalfe vpon many neceſſities./ *Saluagh.*

Then next followeth the brooke *Alyn*, which cometh throwe the *Alyn.*

[1] Dale Point.

[2] St. Bride's Bay.

[3] Now Solva, anciently spelt Saleuuach. (*Life of St. David* in Gerald's Works, iii, 391.)

[4] In Mathry parish.

Cloſe of *Saint Davids* and riſeth neere *Llandigige vaghe* rvninge by *Tretio hendre eynon* and vnder *gwrid* bridge to *ymlech* and to the cloſe of *S^t Davids* throwe the valey, & paſſeth betweene the Cathedrall Church & the Buſhopps pallace, where remayneth *S^t Davids* trowtes for biggnes exceedinge any in thoſe partes, & for tamnes againſt nature that they were not a feard at the ſight of many people, lookinge on them, & approachinge allmoſt to mens handes to receave any thinge, that ſhould be caſt into the brooke for foode, from thence a myle beneath, it taketh ſea at *Porth claiſe.*

Gwayn. The next that cometh in courſe to be ſpoken of, is the ryver *gwayn* whoſe ſpringe is out of *Perſeley* hill in the northe ſide of *Wyndiett*,[1] & taketh her courſe weſterlie haſteneth downe the hill to *Penkelly vor*, and there falling hedlonge to the valley which ſhe chriſteneth of her owne name called *Diffryn gwayne:* a valley well wooded of each ſide thoughe narowe preſently turneth ſowth weſt & firſt receaveth in the *Logen* rvnninge from the ſouth eaſt, and at *Llanmerchan* it receaveth in a rill from north weſt called *Nant-merchan*, & a litle lower receaveth in the *Kead* cominge from the ſouthe eaſt and riſinge at *Com Kead* and then turninge more weſterlie rvneth vnder *Pont vaen* wher a litle beneth it receaveth into it a rill called *y wala* which riſeth out of *Gwern wala* & ſo

Fo. 53a, anc. 50a. rvninge by *Llanychloydocke* & *Llannerchaeth* receavinge by the †way divers rills from the north & ſo to *Pont Newidd*, neere which it receaveth from the ſouth a rill cominge f[r]om *cronlloyn* & there turning more northerly it receaveth a rill that riſeth neere *Kynhleidre* and ſo rvninge northerly vnder *ffiſhgard* bridge falleth into the ſea makinge a faier havon & good harborowe for barckes & ſhippes of ſmale burthen much haunted for ſtore of hearinges taken there yerely./

Nevarne. ffrom fiſhgard the next ryver that falleth into the ſea is *Nevarne* at *Newport* towne whoſe ſpringe is out of the hill *vreny vawr* & is about ix or xen myles in lengthe. her firſt Courſe ys

Nant y Sayſon weſterlie, and out of the ſouthe it receaveth a rill called *Nant y ſayſon* who rvn in one: and ſhortlie from be ſouthe. it receaveth

Crymmych. another rill called *Crymmych* riſinge at *Com Crymmych*, and there turninge northe weſt vntill it receaveth from the north eſt the brooke

Yrannell. called *yr Annelh* whoſe ſpringe is above *Saint Meygans*,[2] from thence

[1] Bwlch Gwynt (Windyport). See p. 104, note 4, and Fenton, p. 567.

[2] In Llanfair Nant Gwyn; called "Sainct Meigan yng-Hemys" in *Llyfer Plygain* (London, Ed. White, 1618), where fairs are said to have been held there on Ascension Day, the Thursday after Trinity Sunday, and the Monday after St. Martin's Day. (See p. 142, below.) There are places called 'Llanfoygan' and 'Pistyll Moygan' near Pant y Deri. For St. Meugan, see Rees' *Welsh Saints*, p. 269.

it rvnneth right weſt and neere *Nantgwyn*, then haſteninge to- *Nantgwyn.*
wardes Jordens Mill from the ſouth eaſt receaveth the brooke of
Nevarne parva alias *Banon* whoſe root is at *blaen Banon*, and ſo *Nevarn parva.*
contynveinge her courſe receaveth from the ſouth the ryver
Brydellach & paſſing vnder *Pont gynon* bridge turneth a litle *Bydrellach.*
northerlie & haſteninge throw a rockie valey towardes *Pont y*
coom vnder *Pont Ryw velen* receaveth out of the ſouth the river
eaſter *Clydaghe* whose ſpringe is neere *Bulch y Penandvy*[1] & from *Clydach orientalis.*
thence turninge againe north weſt throw rockes & ſtones & ſome
bendinges rvneth to *wenallt* & vnder *Henllys* at *Pont y Baldam*,[2]
receaveth into it the ſweete Ryver *Deyad* cominge from *Penkelly* *Deyad.*
foreſt and ſo paſinge to *Melyndre Marchog* receaveth the rill *gloyn*[3] *Gloyn.*
called more properly *gloywen*, and ſo cominge weſtward paſſeth by
gwern y gwythel and to *Nevarne* Church, where it receaveth *Kaman*[4] *Kaman.*
from be north, then crookinge it ſelf about *Lloyn gwayer* receaveth
from the north two rills, the one called *Nant ryd Berw* riſinge *Nant rhyd berw.*
neere *Tredriſſi*: the other called *Kyney* Conſyninge[5] the *Bury* & *Kyney.*
turning from *Lloyngwayer* towardes *Newports* bridge receaveth from
the ſouth another *Clydagh* which riſeth above Killgwyn Church *Clydagh occidentalis.*
which ioyninge with it rvne both direct weſt & vnder the towne
of *Newport* taketh ſea and leeſeth[6] both name : and laſtly makinge
there a faier lardge Port and havon to the vyw but in proffe verye
perillous being alltogether barred by reaſon of a great bancke of
ſande rayſed by the ſea, croſſinge all the entrance of the Havon
beinge a myle broade, and ſo maketh the port vnprofitable./

ffrom *Newport* paſſinge all the north coaſt & there omyttinge the
brooke *kybwr*[7] for that althoughe it fall into the ſea without loſinge
her name, yet doe I here paſſe over the ſame for the ſmalenes thereof
as fitter to be ſpoken of in the pariſhe where it ſpringeth, & the
next port I come vnto is the fall of the faier Ryver of *Teyvy* *Teyvy.*
which parteth *Penbrokſhire* from *Cardigan*. this ryver althoughe it

[1] *I.e.*, Pennant Du.

[2] Pont y Baldwyn, said to have been named after the archbishop who accompanied Gerald in his Itinerary. The euphonic insertion of the *y* before a proper name is not unexampled in other Welsh place-names.

[3] The original meaning is probably something bright or shining ; *gloyn byw* (or *Duw*) means a butterfly in N. Wales. Another *Gloyn* (whose name is still preserved in Gloyn and Llethr Gloyn near Narberth) is mentioned on p. 97 ; and *Gloywen* seems only to be the author's fancied etymological explanation, from *gloyw-wen*.

[4] See *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 9.

[5] Forming the boundary of the Bury, the grange farm of the lords of Kemes.

[6] To *leese* or *lese*, the old form of to *lose*, is still in use locally.

[7] The Ceibwr forms the northern boundary of the parish of Moylgrove.

be the vttermoſt bound or lymitt of the ſheere, yet I thinke fitt to ſpeake ſome whate thereof in this place, this is a faier goodlye deepe river & ryſeth above the Abbey of *Strata florida* in Cardigan ſheere out of a freſhe poole or loughe[1] called *llyn Teyvy* from whence it haſteneth to the Abbey aforeſaid: and paſſinge by
Fo. 53b, anc. 50b. *Tregaron Llan ddewy Brevy* to *Kellan* wher it receaveth the †broke called *Natharn*[2] and from thence downe parteth *Cardigan* and *Carmerthen ſhires* rvninge by *Llanbadar Pont Stephan*[3] & to newe Caſtle *Emlyn* to *Kenarth* where a litle beneath yt receaveth the
Keach. ryver *Keach*[4] which there parteth *Carmerthen* and *Penbrok ſhires* aſounder. where at *Aberkeach* the saide iij Sheeres meete, and where there is a ſmale ſande or Jland not knowne to which ſheere yt belongeth: and from *Aberkeach* forward the ſaid ryver *Teyvy* is the lanſkarre betweene *Penbrok* & *Cardigan* Sheeres. a meadow neere Manerdyvie Churche excepted & ſoe paſſinge downe vnder *Leghrid* bridg a litle beneath receaveth a brooke from the ſouth
Morgeney. called *Morgeney* and there hence aproachinge to *Killgarron* betweene great deepe and narowe hills, over which is framed the weare of *Killgeron* ſtronglie built of ſtone and tymber worke, where aboundance of moſt excellent & ſweet Salmons are taken, where a litle beneath it receaveth from the Sowthweſt a Rillet
Pliſkogg. called *Pliſkogk*, & there hence proceedeth downewardes by the foreſt of Killgaran called properlie *Keven Drym*,[5] at the lower parte whereof it receaveth the brooke *Bryan* coming from *Diffrin*
Breyan. *Breyan*, which there parteth the hundreds of *Kemes* and *Killgarran* and ſo rvning by *Cardigan* Caſtle and vnder the bridge ſaluteth *Saint Dogmells* as yt paſſeth to the ſea wher alſoe it receaveth a rill, & a litle beneath, and before it cometh to the barre yt receaveth in a rill at *Meynian* moore & ſo to the ſea, where the ſandes rayſed by the ſea make a diſcomodiouſe and daungerouſe barre hindering much the trade of ſhipping to theſe partes of the Countrie. /

[1] The Welsh word *llwch*, 'a lake', occurs occasionally in place-names, especially in the Brecon highlands, where it is still used for a marsh or bog.

[2] This stream is called *Mathern* in Speed's Map (1610), and now *Hathren*, for which the other two forms are misprints.

[3] Lampeter in Cardiganshire.

[4] The *Cych*, anciently called in Welsh the Cuch or Cuwch. See pp. 46, 49.

[5] Originally *Cefn y Drum*. (Phillips' *History of Cilgerran*, p. 97.)

Of Chiefe *hills and Mounteines of this ſhire.* Cap. 13.

Fo. 54a, anc. 51a.

The chiefeſt and principall mountaine of this ſhire is *Percellye*[1] which is a long ridge or rancke of Mountaines runninge Eaſt and Weaſt, beginninge above *Penkelly vore*, where the firſt mounte of highe land thereof is called *Moel eryr*, and ſo paſſinge Eaſtward to *Comkerwyn* being the higheſt parte of yt, rvnneth Eaſt to *Moel-trygarn*, and to *Llanvirnach;* this Mountaine is about vj or vij miles longe, and ij miles broade, yt hath in yt manie hills riſinge in the highe mountaine, which are to be diſcerned xx. miles, xxx. miles, xl. miles of, and more, and from this hill maie be ſeene all *Penbrokeshire*, and ſome parte of ix. other ſhires, vidz. *Carmarthenshire*, *Cardiganshire*, *Glamorganshire*, *Brecknockshire*, *Montgomery shire*, *Merioneth shire*, and *Caernarvon shire*, *Devonshire* and *Somerſetſhire*, the Iland of *Lundie* and the realme of *Jreland*./ The comoditie of this Mounteine is greate, for yt yeeldeth plentie of good graſſe, and is full of ſweete ſpringes of water, yt yeeldeth allſo ſtore of fuell for the inhabitantes adioyning, for moſt of the mounteine yealdeth good peate and turffe, as well the lower parte and plaine thereof, as the toppe of the Mounteine, allſo out of this Mounteine hath manie fine Ryvers their originall and beginninges namelie, *Nevarne*, *Taf*, *Clydach*, *Cledhe*, *Syvynvey*, *Gwein*, *Clydach* againe, and the third *Clydach*[2] w^ch^ water moſt partes of the Countrey. *Percelev hills.*

This Mounteine is ſo highe and farre mounted into the ayre, that when the Countrey about is faire and cleere, the toppe thereof wilbe hidden in a cloude, which of the inhabitantes is taken a ſure ſigne of raigne to followe ſhortelie, whereof grewe this proverbe, *when Percellye weareth a hatte, all Penbrokeshire shall weete*[3] *of that;*

The greateſt part of this Mounteyne is a Comon to the free

[1] The Welsh is *Presseleu* or *-au* (see Oxford *Mabinogion*, 18, 2; 138, 7; and Gerald, Rolls ed., vi, 172). The word *presel* is said to have been locally used in S.E. Wales in the sense of a brake, or place overgrown with furze, etc.

[2] For the three Clydachs, see pp. 97, 101.

[3] *Know*, preserved in 'to wit'. This rhyme occurs, *mutatis mutandis*, in more than one English county.

tenantes, and inhabitantes of *Kemes*. w^th^in w^ch^ L^d^p^l^ it ſtandeth, yet is diu*er*ſe partes thereof claymed to be the landes of diu*er*ſe p*ar*ticuler p*er*ſons, and this name *Percelly* is a *genus* as *Coteswalde* is in *Gloucestershire*·. diu*er*ſe particuler places therein havinge ſpeciall and proper names./.

Comkerwyn. *Comkerwyn* is the higheſt pointe or peake of this Mounteyne, and is the firſt and chiefeſt landmarke, that Maryners doe make at ſea, cominge from the South or Southweſt, & is their chiefe, and ſure marke, whereby they make for *Mylford*. and yt appeereth vnto them at the firſt ſight a rounde †Blacke hill, and after they firſt make this land they ſayle xij or xvj houres before they come to the ſight of any other land, by reaſon the ſea ſhores is ſo lowe, and therefore the name of *Percelley* is aſwell knowne at ſea as on land.

Fo. 54b, anc. 51b.

I finde in an ancient and faire deede that in ancient tyme one *Nicholaus*[2] *fil. Martini d'ns de Kemes* graunteth to the heires of *Gwrared fil. Cuhelin*, and to the heires of *Lewelin fil. Cuhelin* the land of *Percelley* aforeſaied, and nameth the landſkarres thereof, to houlde of him, and his heires for ever, this deede was before the vſe of date,[3] this notw^th^ſtandinge the free tenantes and inhabitantes doe to this daie enioye yt, as Comon appurtenant to their freeholde, and do ſuppoſe that this deede ſhold be a charter or graunt to them of this Comon.

Along the ſaied hill toppe of *Percelley* from the beginning to the ende, there is ſeene the tracte of an ancient waye, nowe cleene out of vſe, yet ſuch hath beene the trade in ancient tyme that waye, that to this daye the ancient trade thereof is yet apparantly to be ſeene, and this waie is vſuallie called yet the *ffleminges waie*, and in the ſaied ancient charter of *S^r^ Nicholas Martin* yt is ſo named, *ſicut via flandrenſica ducit per ſummitatem montis a loco vocato etc.*[4] This doeth greatelie confirme[5]

The Fleminges waie.

[1] Lordship.

[2] Nicholas Fitz Martin, the fifth lord of Kemes, died in 1282. The charter is preserved in the register books of the barony, and was enrolled at Pembroke on the petition of the tenants on 31st May, 1568. *Gwrared*=Gwrwared.

[3] The custom of dating deeds began *temp.* Edw. II.

[4] The place is called in the charter 'Wyndyyete', *i.e.*, Bwlch Gwynt. Cf. the *Winniatts* Pass near Castleton in Derbyshire. See p. 100, above.

[5] The road is said to be Roman. It probably got its name, as the author suggests, from its use by the Flemings in their forays on the Welsh of North Pembrokeshire. The Flemings had a settlement at Cilgerran, to which place the old bridle-way from the *Via Flandrica* at Bwlch Gwynt was called *Hen Ffordd Hwlffordd*, *i.e.*, the Old Road to Haverford, the principal seat of the Flemings.

the opynion touching the cominge of the ffleminges here to *Penbrokeshire*, and well they might make this vnuſual waie for their paſſage, for that paſſinge alonge the toppe of the higheſt hill, they might the better deſcrie the pryvie ambuſhes of the Countrye people, w^ch^ might in ſtreightes and woodds annoy them.

The next mounteine of note and bignes is the highe ſharpe rocke over *Newporte*, called *Carn engli*, ſuppoſed to take the name of a giant[1] of that name, this is a verie highe, ſteepe and ſtonye mountaine, havinge the toppe thereof ſharpe, and all rockes ſhewing from the Eaſt and by north in forme like the vpper parte of the greeke letter Ω. *Carn Engly.*

The paſture of this mountaine was given in Comon by the forenamed *Nicholaus*[2] *fil. Martini* then lord of *Kemes* to his Burgeſſes of his towne of *Newport*, w^ch^ they enioy to this daye, w^th^ diu*er*ſe other freedomes and liberties to them graunted by diu*er*ſe Charters yet extant, and faire ſealed with his ſeale of the armes of the ſayed Lp of *Kemes;* but all of that antiquitie that they are ſans date./

†This Mountayne is lardge, v or vj miles in circuite, & ſurmonteth all other for good ſheepe paſture, both for fatting and ſoundenes, & eſpeciall Comodiouſe in this, that no ſnowe ſtayeth on yt by reaſon of the neerenes of the ſea, yt is well watered with fine and cleere ſpringes, This mountaine is of the ſame vayne as the former hills of *Percelley*, ſaving that it is cutte from yt with a deepe, and narrowe valley./ Fo. 55a, anc. 52a.

The laſt and third mountaine of name of this ſheere is that w^ch^ is placed at the Eaſt end of parcelley hills called *Vreny Vawr* but more aptlie the *Vryn vawr*. w^ch^ in Engliſhe is, the great hill,[3] *Vreuny vawr.*

[1] Cf. Llyffan Gawr, p. 115, *post.* The better known legend is that St. Brynach the hermit, who lived there, was visited by angels, whence this mountain was called Carn Engylion, Mons Angelorum. See his *Life* in *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 10. There were several churches in Kemes dedicated to St. Brynach.

[2] This charter is also in the Register Book.

[3] This is impossible. *Breni* cannot possibly be equated with *bryn*, and 'a big hill' is in Welsh *bryn mawr*, *bryn* being masculine. A name similar to *Breni* or *Brenni* occurs in a highly archaic form in the Cornish *Prophetia Merlini;* it is (with a Latin termination) *Brentigia*, and is said by John of Cornwall (14th century) to be the place then called in Cornish *Goen Bren* (*goen* = W. *gwaen* or *gwaun*) and in English *Fawi Mor* (Fowey Moor). See *Revue Celtique*, iii, 86. This *Bren* (for an earlier *Brent*) is apparently the same as the name *Brent* in Devon and Somerset, applied to three well-known places all close to or upon prominent and isolated hills (E. and S. Brent in Som.; South Brent and Brent Tor or Brentor in Dev.). The Brent in Middlesex was spelt *Bregunt* in 705; see *Cart. Saxon.*, i, 169. In the Oxford *Mabinogion*, 89, 12, the Pembrokeshire hill is

this hill is round and blacke in ſight, by reaſon yt ys overgrowne w^th^ heath, y^t^ hath no rocke or ſtone on yt, but for the moſt parte is errable land and heathie, this hill is ſeene from farre, eſpeciallie from the Eaſt partes of the Countrey and ſerveth as a marke to guide the waie to ſtrangers that haue occaſion to theis partes, This hill is the land of particuler men,[1] and ſome parte of yt hath borne corne, this *Vreny Vawr* and the laſt *Carn Engli*, ſtand as Captaine and lieuetenante, th'one leadinge the vantgard, and th'other following the rereward having the rancke of *Parcelley* hills ranged in rancke betweene them both. Emong whome *Coom Kerwyn* before menc*ion*ed, being neere mydwaie betweene them maie well for his highe ſtature overlooking the reſt, claime the place of Altferes,[2] or Enſigne bearer.

Mynyth doygryg.

Theis in effecte are the chiefeſt hills to be ſpoken of in gen*er*all allthoughe there be diu*er*ſe other worthie of note, as *Mynydh doygryg*[3] above *Pontchardston*,[4] *Castlebighe* hill, *Mynyth tyrch* in *Manachlogddy* and *Crigiedwy*,[5] all w^ch^ I recon as ſcoutes attending vpon *Percelly*, and ſeeme as members thereof. There are allſo in ſome hundreds diu*er*ſe partes ſeeminge as Mountaynes in reſpecte of the plaines, adioyninge, ſuch is the vayne begininge ſouth of Trewent, and paſſinge to *S^t^ Petrocks S^t^ Twynells* and betweene *Castle martin* and the *Moore*,[6] and ſo to the ſea, the like is that w^ch^ paſſeth by *Coſſeston* above *Lantfey*,[7] and ſo to *Hollowaye*, and *Penaley*,[8] being a highe hill[9] running betweene two faire valleys, the like is there another paſſinge from the windemills of *Tembye* to *Jeffreyston*, *Croſſelye*, & ſo to Mylford; but thoſe are reconed hills more in reſpecte of lowe valleys of each ſide of them,

called *Penn y vrevi vawr;* here the scribes have first miscopied *vreni* into *vreui* and then made that into *vrevi*. Professor Rhys suggests that *Frenni Fawr* may be from the old Welsh word for a prow, *breni*.—E. P.

[1] Individuals; *i.e.*, not in one large ownership.

[2] *Alfarez* or *Alferes* (a Spanish word, *i.e.*, aquilifer) was a rank in the English army in the time of the first Stuarts. The word is used in Ben Jonson, *The New Inn*, iii, 1.

[3] *Doygryg* = *Deugrug*, 'two mounds'.

[4] Puncheston.

[5] On the borders of the same parish; now called Crug y Dwy.

[6] An ancient mansion described in Fenton, p. 407.

[7] Lamphey, anciently *Llandyfei*, or St. Tyfai's Church (not Llan Ffydd, as sometimes stated). Other churches dedicated to St. Tyfai are or were: Foy in Herefordshire, anciently called Lann-tiuoi (*Lib. Land.*, 263-4), Lampha in Glamorganshire, and Llandyfeisant near Llandeilo Fawr.

[8] Corrupted from *Pen Alun* (see *Lib. Land.*, 73, etc.). Perhaps it was called after the legendary Alun Dyfed.

[9] The Ridgeway.

then for anie propertie of Mounteynes in themſelves, for allthoughe the ſame be banckes of highe landes, yet are they encloſed, tilled and well inhabited.

†There is allſo a waſt and barren vayne of lande begynninge neere *Coed Kynles*, and runneth Eaſt to *Templeton*, *Ludchurch*, *Cronwere*, and *Amroth*, and ſo to the ſea, w^ch^ allthoughe it be barren and waſt above grounde, yet hath yt lymeſtone,[1] w^ch^ enritcheth the countrey on both ſides, but this a flatte and no riſinge,. There is allſo a mountaine paſſinge from *Trew garne* to *Plumstone* rocke, and ſo to *Roche*, whoſe courſe is ſomewhat Eaſterlie, by theſe laſt vaines of hills and waſts. w^ch^ haue their courſe Eaſt, and Weſt or neere, and ſeldome North and ſouth, as I haue ſaied before[2] of the veines of lymeſtone and cole, there is a matter of no ſmall moment to be conſidered of the nature of thoſe matters, w^ch^ haue their courſes thorough the bowells of the Earth. Fo. 55b, anc. 52b.

The reſt of the ſhire, the former fore places excepted is playne, and champian,[3] yet hath yt therein diu*er*ſe perſpicuouſe places to be ſeene from moſt open places of the ſhire, w^ch^ I thought good to note in my departinge from the hills and mounteines, diu*er*ſe of w^ch^ places for their open ayre, holeſome, and pleaſant ſeates affoord longe and pleaſant lyvinge to the gentlemen, and others dwellers there, the chiefeſt of them are theſe that followe

Gentlemens houſes & villages and townes one heighe places

Wiston
Lawhaden
Roche Castle[4]
S^t^ Thomas in Hauerford
Trewgarne Owen[5]
S^t^ Petrockes
S^t^ Twynells
Woram[6]
Tenby towne and church
Stainton
Johnston church
Bulton hill
Marthry[7]
Jeffreiston
Croſſely

[1] See pp. 64-5.

[2] See pp. 64-70, 88-9.

[3] Unenclosed.

[4] For these first three names see p. 46.

[5] In the parish of Trefgarn, said, on doubtful authority, to have been the birthplace of Owen Glyndwr.

[6] Warren.

[7] Anciently Mathru (*Lib. Land.*, 120-2, 244). Perhaps from *ma thru*, 'the field (*ma*) of woe (*tru*).' *Ma* takes the aspirate mutation, as in *Machynlleth*.

Places not inhabited as highe Rockes,
Tumps Steeples, &c.

Crigie Kemes[1] iiij litle tumps of earth, and yet to be ſeen 40 miles of., vidz from *Penplymon*[2]
Castle meherin[3] neere Ludchurch
Tenby wyndmills
S^t Daniells chappell neere *Penbrok*
Vgarston[4] *Wyndmill*
Marlas beacon
Ramscastle[5] an old fort or trench
S^t Annes[6] chappell neere *Milford*
Beinton[7] beacon
S^t leonard's rathe,[8] an old fort on high ground

Fo. 56a, anc. 53a.

†Rockes

Carnvawr,[9] *in Dinas* — *Pencaer*
Carne penbyry, *Carne lhydy*, *Rameſey* Iland } neere *S^t Dauids* — *Burton beacon*

Nowe havinge occaſion to ſpeake of the moſt highe and open places I thinke ffitte in this place to ſpeake a litle of places of contrarye ſituat*i*on, as thoſe w^ch^ are built in deepe lowe, and cloſe places, envyroned w^th^ hills, and not to be ſeene moſt wayes vntill you come into the verie townes or places themſelves; ſuch was the difference of mens mindes in chooſinge of their ſeates, ſome p*re*ferringe health and open ayre thought theſe the beſt, and pleaſanteſt places, others liking better cloſe warme and lowe places, p*er*chance their conſtituc*i*ons of bodie not being able to endure

[1] Pen Crugiau in Bayvil parish. (See *Black Book of Carm.*, fo. 35a; Skene, ii, 34.) Tump means a hillock.

[2] Plynlimmon, known on its Cardiganshire side as *Plymhymon*.

[3] An old Roman encampment.

[4] Wogaston (pronounced *Oggaston* or *Oggeston*), in Rhoscrowther parish.

[5] Ramas or Roman's Castle, in Walton West parish.

[6] The lighthouse on St. Anne's Head was built on the site of the old chapel.

[7] In Burton parish.

[8] In Rudbaxton Parish. The ruins of the chapel of St. Leonard are near his well, which had miraculous powers for disorders of the eye.

[9] This name is now given to Trevasser mountain on the opposite side of Fishguard Bay.

the pierceing ayre framed their dwellinges there after, w^ch^ places are theſe.

S^t^ Dogmells Abbey
Priory pill[1]
S^t^ Davids church, cloſe and Canons houſes called
the valley
Stackpoole Elidyr
Dale towne
Llannerchybleidhe[2] house
Nevarne towne
Melindre Marchog[3]

[1] See p. 110, note 2.
[2] In the Gwaen valley.
[3] In Nevern parish, now called College. On the word *Melindre*, see *Y Cymmrodor*, xi, 57.

Fo. 56b, anc. 53b.

Of Salt Flandes *ſeperated by the ſea from* Penbrokeſhire, *and yet part thereof and of diuerſe rockes, and ſtones neere the ſea ſhoare, yealding fowl or other comodytie and of two* peninſulas. Cap. 14.

Of ſault Iland*es* adioyninge neere the mayne of *Penbrokeshire* I finde ſome greater ſome ſmaller, and ſome very rockes havinge no graſſe, of theſe there are foure of chiefeſt accompte, for they exceede the reſt in greatnes, whoſe names are theſe, *Caldey*, *Scockholme*, *Scalmey*, and *Ramsey*. of theſe I will ſpeake firſt, and of the Ileſts or ſmale Iland*es* adioyning to each of them, and then to the reſt,.

Caldey. *Caldey* is an Iland as I ſhold Judge. a mile long and halfe as broade, yt ſtandeth ij miles from the mayne ſeated oppoſite to the towne of *Tenby*, yt is called by *Giraldus*[1] by the old Brittiſhe name *Ynys pyrr*, that is, the Iland of Pyrrus; there was in yt in tymes paſt a Priorie called (as ſaieth *Lelande*[2]) *Lille*, a pariſhe church and a chappell dedicated to S^t^ yt did belonge to the *Abbey of S^t^ Dogmells;* and was purchaſed[3] by mr. Roger Bradſhawe, father to the laſt mr. John Bradſhaw, grandfather to mr. John Bradſhawe that nowe ys, who about foure yeares paſt ſould the ſame to mr. Water Philpin of *Tenby*, whoſe inheritance nowe yt is, the Iland is verie fertile and yeldeth plentie of corne all their plowes goe w^th^ horſes, for oxen the inhabitant*es* dare not keepe, fearing the purveyors of the pirat*es*, as they themſelves told me, who often make their p*ro*viſions there by their owne Comiſſion, and moſt comonlie to the good contentem*en*t of the

[1] 'Insulam Caldei quam Kambri Enispir, id est, Insulam Pirri, vocant' (Rolls ed., vi, 92). See, too, Wrmonoc's *Life of St. Pol de Léon* (written in 884): 'Erat autem quædam insula *Pyrus* nomine Demetarum patriæ in finibus sita,' where it is made the seat of St. Illtyd's 'schola'. (*Rev. Celt.*, v, 419.)

[2] What Leland says is, 'Prior. de Pille ut opinor in Caldey insula.' (*Collect.*, i, 105.) The author had apparently not seen the passage, and Leland had not seen Hubberston, where Pill Priory was situated.

[3] At the dissolution.

inhabitant*es* when conſcionable theefes arive there, the Iland is of viij^{t} or x^{en} houſhold*es*, and ſome parte of the demeſnes annexed to the ruines of the Priorie, the Lord keepeth in his hands, yt is nowe growne a queſtion in what hundred of *Pembrokeshire*. this Iland ſhold be whether in *Kemes* as parcell of *S^{t} Dogmells*. to w^{ch} yt appertayned, or parte of the next hundred of the maine, and vntill this doubte be decided the inhabitant*es* are content to reſt exempt from anie paye*men*tes or taxac*i*ons wth anie hundred.

There ys adioyning to the North ſide of this Iland a good and ſalfe roade for ſhippinge, from xii to vi fathome deepe in good owze ſalfe for all windes, thoſe of the eaſt pointes excepted, yt maie receive betweene yt & the roade of Tenby CC ſhippes, as hath beene c*er*tified vpon a late ſ*u*rvey all in ſalfe riding & good Ancor hold.

†There is adioyninge to this great *Caldey* a ſmall Iland placed betweene yt and the land called litle *Caldey*[1]: yt beareth good graſſe for ſheepe and conyes, and ſtore of gulls, and is the Queenes Ma*ieſties* land parcell of her Manour of Man*er*bire, and Penalley. Fo. 57a, anc. 54a. *litell Ilande.*

The next great Iland, that cometh in courſe to be ſpoken of ys *Scockholme* neere the mouth of *Mylford*. havon, and next to yt *Skalmey*,[2] being both great and lardge Iland*es* thoughe not inhabited,[3] but ſerve onelye for feedinge of ſheepe, kyne, oxen, horſes, Mares, and great ſtore of Coneys, theſe Ilands are not ſo goode lande as the firſt, the cauſe I thinke for that yt is suffred to lye waſt, and not manured: /. *Skockholme & Scalme.*

The ffirſt of theſe two is the fertiler & the laſt the lardger, and neerer the maine ſcarce a mile diſtante, but ſeperated wth ſuch a violent current as ſeldome is the paſſadge wthout danger. You ſhall ſee the current rvnne wth ſuche violence, as the tyde doeth at halffe ebbe vnder *London* bridge (the fall excepted).

Theſe are nowe her Ma*ieſties* being ſometimes the inheritance

[1] Now called St. Margaret's Island from the chapel thereon.

[2] Now called Skomar. Leland (*Itin.*, v, 26) states that he had been told there was a chapel on it. Fenton, in a note on this passage in the *Cambrian Register* (ii, 128), laments the destruction in the fire at the Cotton Library of a manuscript account of these islands, which might have thrown some light on the tradition of the submergence of St. Martin's Hundred in what is now St. Bride's Bay. Researches in the Catalogue of the destroyed Cottonian MSS. have been unsuccessful in tracing this MS.

[3] Leland, *loc. cit.*, says they were not inhabited in his day—'propter piratas et celi inclementiam.'

of *Sr John Perrott* Knight,[1] and of Ancient time were parcell of the Lordſhip of *Haverfordwest*, as appeereth by record, at wch tyme the paſture of the ſaied Ilands was valued to lvs and the conyes to xiiijli vs, by wch it ſhould ſeeme, that they were greatlie repleniſhed wth Conyes in thoſe daies,

Midlande Ilande. I finde adioyninge to theſe two Ilandes, two ſmall Ilandes th'one adioyninge to *Skalmey*, called in *Mr Saxtons* mapp *Mydland Iland*, but in Antient record *Midilholme*, the other betweene *Scockholme* and the maine cloſe to yt, called in *Mr Saxtons* mappe *Gatholme.* both wch are ſmall patches, yet bearinge graſſe, and ſerveth for ſheepe paſture, both theſe ſmall Ilandes are accompted as appendantes to theſe two lardger,

ffarre of in the ſea ſtandeth the Iland *Gresholme* ſo called of *Mr Saxton*, but of the neighbours *Walleyes*[2]. a ſmall Iland viijt miles from the maine, and for the Remotenes thereof, and ſmall proffettes yt yeldeth, is ſeldome frequented,

Ramſey. The next, laſt, and greateſt of theſe foure Ilandes is called *Ramſey*, of *Ptolomeus*,[3] *Lymen*, and is placed at *St Davids* headland in forme Triangle, much like the Ile of Cipris,[4] this Iland allſo is waſt, and not inhabited, but hath on it two decayed Chappells, and ſtore of freſhe water, as all the former haue, one of the ſaied Chappells dedicated to *St Dauids*, the other to

Fo. 57b, anc. 54b. *Devanok*[5] in Engliſche *Devanus*, †Who with *Faganus* was ſent by Buſhop *Eleutherius* to the *Bryttaines* to preach the word of life 186 yeares after the aſcention of our Saviour *Jeſus Christ*, *Lucius* then

[1] Sometime Lord Deputy of Ireland. He was attainted for treason in 1592. He was said to have been a natural son of Henry VIII. The Perrotts held Haroldston near Haverfordwest for centuries. Sir John was a great benefactor to that town.

[2] The 'Gwales in Penvro' of the 'Mabinogi of Branwen the daughter of Llyr'. (Oxford *Mabinogion*, 40, 16; 41, 26. Also *Gwalas*.)

[3] Λίμνου ἔρημος, *Geograph.*, lib. ii, cap. 2, *sub voce* 'Hibernia'. In the Life of St. Justinian (from whom Llanstinan takes its name) in *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, fo. 201b, col. 2, the island is also called 'insula quæ *tunc* insula *Lemeneia* vocabatur'.

[4] Cyprus.

[5] Hence the island was called in Welsh *Ynys Tyfanog* or *Dyfanog* (Shirburn Castle MS. 113. E. 28). It is impossible to equate this saint with the 'Devanus' for whom and Faganus the ultimate sole authority is Geoffrey of Monmouth, iv, 19; the first name is, by the way, *Duvianus* in the printed text of Geoffrey, a form from which the Welsh *Dyfan* could not have been produced. Churches called after a Dyfan and a Ffagan are Merthyr Dovan and St. Fagan's, near Cardiff. Possibly *Devynock* or *Defynog* in Brecknockshire (which cannot possibly be derived from St. *Dyfnog*, as some have supposed) embodies the name of the Ramsey Island saint. The church there is dedicated to St. Cynog.—E. P.

beinge kinge of Brittaine, This Iland belongeth to the Buſhop of *Math westmr.*[1] *fol.* 112.
S^t Dauids, yt feedeth ſheepe, horſes, beeffes, and conyes, the ſheepe of this as of the other Ilands yeld not ſo much proffitte, as thoſe of the mayne, their woll being coarſer. and much impaired w^th the ſalt water, the milke and mucke of theſe ſheepe are loſt allſo, and being brought a land being amaſed at the ſight of people they runne and become wilde and will not be taken more then wilde deere, their wooll yeld not ſuch price, as thoſe of the mayne doeth, neither ys yt ſo comodiouſe in cloth.

On the Eaſt ſide of this Iland, and toward the land are two Ilande*s*, or rather rockes, the one called *Ynys y Pyry*, the other the *Chauntors rocke*, both of theſe being but ſmall rockes yeld ſmall proffitte, ſavinge ſome gulls,

A ſeaboord this Iland *Ramſey* rangeth in order the Buſhop and his clearkes being vij^en in Nomber, all wayes ſeene at lowe water who are not w^thout ſome ſmall Quiriſters, who ſhewe not themſelves, but at ſpring tydes, and calme ſeas,

The chiefeſt of theis ys called of the inhabitante*s* the Buſhops rocke one other *Carreg y roſſan*, the third *Divighe*, the 4^th *emſkir*, the reſt as yet I haue not learned their names if they haue anye theſe rockes are accompted a great danger to thoſe that ſeeke *Milford* coming from the ſouthweſt ſeas, and are to this headland of *S^t Dauids* as the *Sorlinges*[2] comonlie cleeped *Syllie* to the landes ende of *Englande*., and if the better ſkill guide not the paſſengers, the proverbe may be fulfilled, *incidit*[3] *in Syllam &c*, The Buſhop and thoſe his clerkes preach deadly doctrine to their winter audience, and are comendable in nothinge but for their good reſidence, theſe all yelde ſtore of gulls in the tyme of the yeare,[4] *The Buſhop & his Clearkes.*

[1] *Flores Historiarum*, A.D. 185-7 (Rolls ed., 1890, i, 146-7). As to the evidence for this story, see Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils, etc.*, i, 25-6. The *sole* authority consists of the following words in the later form of *Catalogus Pontificum Romanorum*, written *circa* 530 A.D. : 'Hic (Eleutherus) accepit epistolam a Lucio Britanniæ Rege ut Christianus efficeretur per ejus mandatum.'

[2] *Les Iles Sorlingues* is the French name for the *Scilly* Isles. The Danes called them *Syllingar* or *Syllings*, and the ancient form (in Sulpicius Severus' *Chronica*, ii, 51) is *Sylinancis* (insula).—See Rhys' *Celtic Britain* (*s. v.* 'Silures'), 2nd ed., 306-7.

[3] 'Incidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdim.'—Philippe Gaultier of Châtillon, *Gesta Alexandri*, v, 301 (*cir.* 1200).

[4] In Egerton MS. 2586, in the British Museum, fo. 405a, occurs the following, apparently in George Owen's handwriting : 'The Long ledg of Rocks south west of St. Davids is callyd *Stale* in Welsh *lly wennol* yt is said to be the ei weye betweene Milford and Ireland.' *Gwennol* means 'a shuttle' as well as 'a swallow'. In the MS. quoted in Browne Willis' *Survey of St. David's*, and there attributed to our author (see the Preface to this work), p. 61, two more names, *Gwen Carreg* and *Carreg Hawloe*, are given.

Haveinge nowe briefelie ranne over theſe foure great Iland*es* with their ſequele,[1] I will nowe retorne and ſpeake of the leſſer ſorte of Iland*es* being for the moſt part rockes yeldinge ſmall proffitte, ſavinge wilde foule, that breede thereon, wherein I note, that allthoughe theſe ſmall Ilands or Rockes be ſeperated from the mayne, by ſome ſmall arme of the ſea, yet doeth the propertie
Fo. 58a, anc. 55a. of theſe remaine to the †Owners of the next adioyninge land, ſavinge moſt of thoſe before recyted lyeing neerer to theſe great Iland*es* then to the maine[2] are accompted rather part of thoſe Ilands then the mayne, in ſpeakinge of theis I will retorne backe to *Milford* havon, where treatinge of the great I over paſſed ij
Sheepe Ilande. ſmall in the mouth of *Mylford*, th'one and outmoſt called *Sheepe* Iland beinge neere the Eaſt ſide of *Milford* at th'entrance w^th^out the blocke houſe, w^ch^ is but a ſmall tumpe, becauſe as I gueſſe ſheepe haue onely acceſſe therevnto, for at lowe water yt is drye and therefore ſcarſe deſerveth the name of an Iland, and hath nothing in yt worth the notinge.

ffurther w^th^in the mouth of the havon on the ſame ſide is
Ratt Ilande. the Iland called *Ratt*[3] *Iland*, but of the inhabitant*es* more comonlie called *thorne* Iland, this is a prettie Iland, but verie litle, full of deepe graſſe, a muſkett ſhotte from the mayne, this and the laſt before ys the land of *Water Rees* Esq^re^

The Stack. Within *Milford* havon lyeth the ſtacke, a rocke w^th^out graſſe, and not worth manie words to be ſpoken for the purpoſe I haue nowe in hand, but heretofore by ſpeciale directions from her Ma*ieſ*tie, and the Lords of the Counſell touching a deſcription[4] to be made of *Milford* havon, I haue more exactelie handled the ij laſt as plac*es* fitt for fortificacion, the particulers whereof ys not fitte here to be diſcloſed,

ffor Rockes and ſtones adioyninge to the mayne yearely yeelding gulls, & ſuch like ſea foule there is one adioyning to the Iland of *Barry*.[5] and parcell thereof, one at *Abermawr*, one at *Dinas*, *Carreg y trywyr* near *Voelgoch*,[6] and ij at *Moelgrove*, all w^ch^ more or leſſe according to their quantities yeald ſtore of theſe ſee foules to the owners.

[1] From the French *séquelle*, 'a following, train.' [2] The mainland.

[3] Rat Island is the modern name given to a smaller island lying between the other two. [4] See Appendix.

[5] The 'insula nomine *Ary*' in the *Life of St. Caradoc* (*Nova Legenda Angliæ*, fo. 55a, end) seems meant for this Barry Island.

[6] On the coast-line of Nevern parish (see Fenton, pp. 539-40).

The two *Peninſula's* or halffe Ilande*s* w^ch^ I purpoſe to ſpeake of are called Ilands, for that in effect they are Ilande*s*, ſavinge that each of them hath a ſmall valley or bogge betweene yt and the land w^ch^ the ſea poſſeſſeth not, but are ſuch as w^th^ induſtrie might be cutte being bogges, and w^th^ ſmall chardge the ſea drawne about them, the one is called the Iland of *Dinas* the other called the Iland of *Barrye* in the pariſhe of *Llanrian*, both of late yeares being the inheritance of Thomas Bowen of *Pentrefevan* Esq^re^ after whoſe deceaſe theſe Ilande*s* were ſhared betweene his two daughters, each takinge one./ *Peninſulæ.* *Dinas & Barry.*

†This Iland of *Dinas* is verye good corne land eſpeciallie for wheate, w^ch^ yt is ſaid to beare w^th^ out mucke or other mendeme*n*t, and for all other kinde of grayne very fruitefull as allſo well noriſhinge ſheepe, yt hath beene in Aunciente tyme parted in two, w^th^ a ſtone hedge, ſo that the one ſide being tilled, the cattle might graſſe the other w^th^out damage, and yt is a mile one way, and well neere as much the other, I finde the name thereof in Ancient wrytings to be *Ynys bagh Llyffan gawr*,[1] and that yt was in olde tyme the inheritance of diue*r*ſe perſons, and by purchaſe brought to one hand, and hath for all the tyme of mans memorye beene occupied w^th^ the houſe of *Pentrefevan*, as a grainge for the maintenance of hoſpitallitie, Fo. 58b, anc. 55b.

The other Iland called the Iland of *Barry* is the demeſne, and parcell of the Manour of *Llanrian* in *Dewisland*, w^ch^ manor[2] and Iland fell to the p*ar*te of the yongest daughter of the ſaied *Thomas Bowen*. being ſometimes the patrimonie of the *Wogans of Wiston*, and ſould by the laſt *John Wogan* to the ſaied *Thomas Bowen;* this Iland is more fertile then the laſt eſpeciallie for barlie, and ys well ſtored w^th^ haie, a comoditie wantinge to the former, for bignes I iudge yt litle inferior to the former,

[1] Probably the same personage as is commemorated in Trelyffan in Nevern parish; as to the legend connected with which place see Gerald, Rolls ed., vi, 110-1, and Fenton, p. 539. *Llyffan* means 'a toad'; cf. *Mons Ranarum* and *Mons de Areynes*, the old *alias* names of Brent Knoll in Somersetshire (*John of Glastonbury*, Hearne's ed., 1726, p. 76; and *Antiq. Glast.*, in Gale's *XV Scriptores*, 1691, p. 307). With Llyffan Gawr cf. the Engli or Ingli Gawr of p. 105.

[2] In the MS. quoted in B. Willis' *St. David's* (see note 4, p. 113), p. 60, Sir Francis Meyrick is said to have held (*circ.* 1588) the lease of Llanrian from the Archdeacon of Carmarthen (the owner of the rectorial tithes; see Fenton, p. 34). Llanrian had belonged to the see of St. David's; see Gerald's *Works*, Rolls ed., iii, 152, 432. Carreg Ynys y Pyrry (see p. 113, above, and *St. David's*, pp. 59-60) belonged to Llanrian (just as the neighbouring *Ynys y Cantwr* did to the Chanter of St. David's; see *locc. citt.*), and seems to have taken its name from Barry Island in that parish. Cf. also *Pen Byry*, not far off.

Fo. 59a. anc. 56a.

Of the ſeverall ſorte *of fiſhe taken in this ſhire, as well in the freſhe ryvers, as the ſea coaſtes, and of the great plenty thereof.* Cap. xv.

Want of fiſhponds.

Haveinge ſpoken of the ſalte Ilande*s* of this countrye envyroned w^th^ the ſea, yt followeth aptlie in this place to ſpeake of the fiſhe w^ch^ is yearelie taken in the mayne ſea the creekes, and armes thereof, and the freſhe Ryvers, that paſſe thoroughe the Countrie for pond fiſhe there are none, wherein I cannot but condempne our whole countrey of careleſſenes & ſlouth for that want, for of all the countryes, that ever I traveiled, this ſoyle yeeldeth moſt convenient places for fiſhe ponds, and to be builded w^th^ leſt coſt & paine, for in all or moſt partes or pariſhes of the ſhire, there are fine and ſweete ſpringe*s* runninge in ſmall litle valleys, as yf worne by their courſe, not deepe but broade, and ſhallowe, not headlonge or ſteepe, but allmoſt on playne ground, the ſpringes not to great, whereby the violence might breake the damme heads, but ſufficient to mayntaine a pound[1] where there needeth nothinge, but the erectinge of a head or weare for ſtopping of the water, and the pond wold be readye, ſo that in manie a hundred place*s* of this countrey leſſe then V^li^ chardge wold make a lardge fiſhe pond, w^ch^ beſide the comoditie of the fiſhe wold prove comodiouſe for watringe, and ſtandinge of Cattle in parching ſeaſons, as allſo a nurſerie for ſwannes, a foule that of all other, the countrie hath leaſt ſtore, whereas I ſee in other Countries C^li^, and more conſumed in raiſinge a fiſhe pound, & yet thinke the chardge well beſtowed. I meane not onely the want of pondes of freſhe fiſhe, but allſo thoſe of ſalt water vpon the ſea coaſtes and creekes, w^ch^ the ingeniouſe mindes of diu*er*ſe gentlemen in other countryes, haue latelie and rarelie[2] invented, where by intrudinge vpon *Neptuns* Juriſdiction they impriſon in the ſalt water, and fiſhe, and bring the ſame ſubiecte to their comaund and comoditie, & in ſuch ſorte, as that they haue ready at their call, the baiſe, millett, flookes[3] and plaiſes, ſole, Eles,

[1] From some form of this word seems derived the Welsh loan-word *pwnt* (*melin*), 'a (mill-)dam', the diminutive of which, *pwntan*, is found in Penpwntan, near Knighton, and Pwntan Bach, near Carmarthen.

[2] Excellently.

[3] The common dab.

whitinges, ſea ſmeltes, crabbes, ſhrimps, Conger, Gurnett, and diu*er*ſe other ſortes of ſault water fiſhe, as yt were in a parke[1] of wilde fiſhe, of thoſe kindes of ſalt ponds, there are infinite apt and ffytte places, eſpeciallie vpon all or moſt the creekes ſpredd out on everye ſide of *Milford Havon.*

But omitting that w^ch^ wee might haue, and haue not, lett me ſpeake of that w^ch^ wee haue and want not. The fiſhinge of *Penbrokeſhire*, as I haue ſaied before in the vii^th^ Chapiter, is one of the cheefeeſt worldlie comodities, wherew^th^all god hath bleſſed this Countrey, w^ch^ fiſhinge are of diu*er*ſe ſortes taken at diu*er*ſe tymes of the yeare, and that at diu*er*ſe places, The names of ſome ſortes moſt comonlie taken in this coaſt are theis, that I ſhall ſpeake of. †Which I will divide into foure ſortes, that is Ryver fiſhe, ſea fiſhe ſhell fiſhe, and the three ſtrange nature fiſhes, Fo. 59b, anc. 56b.

And firſt in this place I will ſpeake of the Ryver fiſhe, whereof the *Samon* ſhall have the firſt place, partely for the plentie and ſtore thereof taken in manie partes, and places of the Countrie, but chiefely for the excellencie, and daintyenes thereof, wherein yt exceedeth thoſe of other Countryes, the principall place of takinge thereof is in the ryver of Tyvy, and there chiefely at *Kilgarran* where the chiefeſt weare[2] of all *Wales* is to be ſeene, chardgeably[3] built of ſtronge tymber frames, and Artificiallie wrought therein w^th^ ſtones croſſinge the whole Ryver from ſide to ſide, haveing ſixe ſlaughter places, wherein the fiſhe entringe remayne incloſed, and are therein killed w^th^ an Iron crooke proper for that vſe, there hath beene oftentimes taken . 100 . 140 . more, or leſſe in ſome daye, the fiſhe being moſt excellent, and for fattenes, and ſweetenes exceeding thoſe of other Ryvers, There is allſo great ſtore of this fiſhe, as allſo of ſueing*es*,[4] Mullett*es*, & botchers[5] (being all neere of kynne to the *Salmon*) taken in the ſaied Ryver neere *S^t^ dogmells* in a ſayne[6] nette, drawne after everye tyde, as allſo in the Ryver of *Nevarne*, at *Newport*, where they take them in a draught nette ſometymes by the ſkores at a draught, as allſo in *Samon* weares whereof there ys three or foure vpon the Ryver, There are alſo ſtore of Salmons taken at

Samons.

Kilgarran.

[1] Cf. the French *parc aux huîtres*, 'oyster-bed'.

[2] The old weir was just above where the Plysgog joins the Teivi. See above, p. 102.

[3] Expensively.

[4] Sewin.

[5] Grilse, *i.e.*, young salmon.

[6] Compare the French *seine*, or *senne*, anciently *seīne* (from Latin *sagēna*), 'a drag-net', which is possibly the direct origin, thinks Professor Rhys, of the corresponding Welsh word *sân* (for *saen*) used in S. Cardiganshire, where boats that fish with these nets are called *llestri 'r sân* (cf. Cilsân near Llandeilo Fawr, on the banks of the Towy). The word *sein* is used in Cornwall; see Tonkin's ed. of Carew's *Survey*, p. 95. Another English form is *sean*.

Fishgarde in the Ryver *Gweyne ;* and in both *Clethes*, the one coming vp to *Haverfordwest*, the other to *Slebech*, and *Caneston*, and in each of theis places allſo ſtore of ſueinges, Salmons troutes, mulletts, and botchers taken in the ſpringe, w^ch^ is their ſeaſon, and one eſpeciall thing is to be noted of the *Samons* of *Tyvy*, that at all tymes in the Yeare, there are ſome found in ſeaſon, yea even in wynter, when in moſt places they are found kipper,[1] leane, and vnholeſome, there they are found newe, freſhe, fatte & cruddye[2] betweene Allſaintes, and Chriſtmas, this fiſhe cometh from the ſea vp the Ryvers, and in the ſandie places both the male, and female are founde in the night labouringe to make bedds w^th^ their ſnowtes by heaping gravell and ſande for their ſpawninge place, and in this their buſynes they are in the night tyme watched, and with lightes of fire drawne to wonder thereat, whiles the fiſhers from the land with *Neptunes* weapon. the ſalmon ſpeare, bereave them of their life, being then for the moſte parte vnholeſome, and leane ; yt is ſaied, that this fiſhe, and the gooſelinge concurre in growth, meaninge thereby, that in one yeare, they come to their full bignes, *Giraldus*[3] ſaieth, this fiſhe is called *Salmo*, a *ſaliendo*, becauſe ſaieth he, takeinge his tayle in the mouthe †Becomeinge in forme like a ringe, w^th^ his ſtrength at the lewſe[4] mounteth ſo highe, that he will caſt himſelfe vp a great bancke or rocke, and doeth inſtance of a great ſteepe rocke to be at *Kilgarran*, wherein he was deceived, for the ſame indeede is at *Kenarth*, three miles above *Kilgarran*, where the Ryver falleth over a perpendiculer and ſteepe rocke of ten or twelve foote highe, at w^ch^ place the ſamons are imagined to aſcend, for that they are founde manie myles in that ryver above that place, and therefore is ſaied, that by this meanes, they caſt themſelves vp that ſteepe place, w^ch^ they call the Samons lepp. This fiſhe is beſt in ſeaſon, at his firſt cominge from the ſea, where he goeth to waſhe himſelfe, and retorneth into the freſhe Ryver, moſt bright, and ſhininge, fatte and delicatte, and the longer he travayleth vp the Ryver, beating himſelf againſt the banckes, rockes, and ſhelves, the leaner he goeth, they are chiefely in ſeaſon in the ſpring, and all the ſommer, This fiſhe the ſooner he be boyled after his takeinge, the more ſweete, and delicate he *pro*veth in eatinge, whereas long keeping or carriadge before boylinge decayeth his ſweetenes, and therefore ys ſaied to be beſt, when he is caſt alive into the panne, (the water being hotte, and boylinge) where

Samons leppe. Fo. 60a, anc. 57a.

[1] A salmon is called 'kipper' after spawning or when it is smoke-dried.
[2] Thick ; see *Faerie Queene*, III, iii, 47.
[3] Rolls ed., vi, 114.
[4] Relaxed.

preſently it crompeth[1] & turneth vp the corners and ſides, waxeinge redd in colour interlardinge the redd w^th^ white, cruddy, fatte, that yeldeth the meate verye ſweete in taſte, A merrye writer, likeninge the partes of this fiſhe to a fayre woman, ſayeth, that about the Jawes, the Eyes and the bellye are the ſweeteſt partes of the Samon.

The ſueinge, Botcher, Mullett, Samon peale, or Samon trowte *Sueinge.* are *Synonymas*, and are all one, but differinge in name, and are in forme, taſt & takinge all one w^th^ the ſamon, but leſſer and ſhorter in Eatinge, then the Samon, ſome men thinke they are the ſamon in deede, but want in growth, but the beſt fiſhermen are of opynion that they are of ſeverall kindes, and will never become a Salmon,[2] Theſe if they be of ſeverall kindes, yet are never founde to come vp the Ryver to ſpawne nor to make ſpawneinge pittes as the Samons doe, *Plyny*[3] ſheweth in his naturall hiſtorie, that the old *Samon* is knowne *per duritiem ſquamarum*, ſo the ſmaller, the *li. 9, Cap. 18.* brighter, and thynn*er* the ſcales of the Samon is, the yonger you may Judge the fiſhe to be.

The trowtes of this Countrye, are nothing ſo good, as thoſe, that *Trowte.* I haue eaten in other Countreys, being white in collour, ſmall and †drier in eatinge, wanting fattenes, and growth, yet are there great Fo. 60b, anc. 57b. ſtore taken in every ſmall brooke & Ryll, as allſo in the greater Rivers, they come in, and are beſt in ſeaſon in March, and Aprill, and contynue good all the ſommer, they are taken w^th^ the Angle, wherein the ſkillfull fiſher taketh great pleaſure, and findeth yt a pleaſant, & healthie exerciſe, as allſo in Wheeles[4] at certain ſtopped places, and at tayles of mills, they are ſlaughtred in great plentye eſpeciallie in March and Aprill ; They are allſo taken by lyne hookes, by bayteinge manie hookes, and faſtninge them to one mayne lyne, and theſe being caſt into the Ryver in the eveninge, wilbe drawne in the morninge laden w^th^ fiſhe ; The trowt allſo is taken w^th^ diu*er*ſe kinde of nettes, as with trammell[5] and forke netts, but moſt of all the dragge nette, w^ch^ ſweepeth awaie great and ſmall, for want of nettes the poorer ſort of people ſowe diu*er*ſe wynowinge ſheetes and rawe woollen clothes together, and w^th^ force of men drawe ſondrie pooles in Ryvers. where the fiſhe moſt frequent, where great, and ſmall are taken w^th^out reſpect, and ſometimes if a Samon or ſueinge hytte in,[6] they never vſe to caſt

[1] Shrinks. [2] This opinion has been adopted by modern ichthyologists.
[3] Pliny's remark is not confined to the salmon. [4] Pools.
[5] The great draught net. From the French *tramail* or *trémail.* Spenser uses the word for nets for the hair, *Faerie Queene*, II, ii, 15.
[6] Chance to come.

him to the Ryver againe ; The Ryvers of this ſhire differre, ſome havinge more, ſome leſſe ſtore of this kinde of fiſhe, and ſome excelling others in goodnes, and growth.

Eeles & Lampreis. Eeles and Lampreis are found in everie Ryver, the more muddy the Ryver, the better the Eeles ; allſo in old marle pittes have beene found eeles verie lardge and bigge. ſome of three or foure foote in length, and the bignes anſwerable to the ſame . but the chiefe ſtore is found and taken yearelie in the ryver *Clethe* neere *Llan-*

Llanstinan moore. *stinan*, where the great moore, or bogge being of three miles longe, ſerveth for the Nurſery of this ſlippery fiſhe, the takinge of them is in Auguſt, their nature being then to move and breake aſonder out of their bedds in the muddye moore, and being ſtyrred, the fludds after great ſhowers carrye them to the ryver runinge thoroughe the bogge, and at certaine ſtopped paſſadg*es* called weares, they are in the night tyme taken in Watled wheeles, and netts pitched of purpoſe where in the morninges they are taken vp by the Buſhell, and ſalted ; They are allſo taken in the Ryvers by Lyne hookes, as I ſaied before of the troutes, as allſo by clottinge,[1] w^ch^ is a clewe of yearne all cou*er*ed w^th^ Angle toch[2] wormes, and caſt into the Ryver or poole where they remayne, and byteinge

Fo. 61a, anc. 58a. thereat, hang faſt by their crooked teeth, and ſoe landed. †*Plynye*

li. 9, *Cap.* 21. writeth that the Eele lyveth viij yeares, and will live drye vij daies, ſo the North winde blowe, but not ſo longe w^th^ the South wynde

Lampreys. The Lampreys are found in the freſhe Ryvers w^th^ the Eeles, where be ſome of reaſonable biggenes, I haue often ſeene them taken, but ſeldome dreſſed, becauſe there is a conceived doubte of a vayne or gutte in ſome part of the fiſhe, w^ch^ muſt be drawne furth, w^ch^ gutte if yt breake poyſoneth the fiſhe w^ch^ doubte preſerveth the life of this fiſhe in moſt places where they breede.

Riuer Muſkells. The Ryver muſkles are not for meate, but are chiefelie taken for the pearles that are found in them, the fiſhe being great and longe of vij or viij ynches, and are ſo ranke, that they are reiected for the meate, and of the countrye people tearmed for their bignes horſe muſkles, they are but rarely found, and in moſt of them are found pearles, ſome one, ſome ij. ſome iij in a peece, ſome foure, and oryent,[3] but moſt comonly cornerid[4] and darke, w^ch^ maketh them

[1] The term is still in use locally. 'To clot' is to make into a ball. See *Prompt. Parv.*, *sub voce* Clodde.

[2] The old English name for the earthworm. Carew (*Survey*, Tonkin's ed., p. 106) calls it the tag-worm.

[3] Bright. Cf. 'orient pearl', Shakespeare, *Rich. III*, Act iv, Sc. 4.

[4] Having angles.

of leſſe accompte; the cheefe ryvers for this kinde of fiſhe is *Taf* and *Nevarne*[1]

Of ſea fiſhe there is great ſtore taken in every parte at the ſea ſhores, and as the ſeu*er*all places, where they are taken are manie, ſo ys the ſeu*er*all kindes of fiſhe diu*er*ſe; Emonge the w^ch^ I will firſt begynne w^th^ the hearing, w^ch^ for the great vſe it ſupplieth, and for the aboundance thereof taken above all other ſort is called the kinge of fiſhe; this fiſhe is taken more comon about this realme, then in anye other Countrye of the world, for as ſaieth the hiſtorie of *Lewis Guicherdine*,[2] hearing*es* are onely bredd in the ſeptentrionall or Northern ſeas, but not in the ſoutherne ſeas, nor anie Ryver, nor yet in the ſpaniſhe ſeas, and ſaieth that they come out of the extreemeſt partes of the Northerne ſeas, and come w^th^ the firſt cold in great nombers, to avoyde the frigor of the frozen ſeas, and that their courſe is to Compaſſe once the Ile of *Bryttaine*, and ſo to the *Ocean;* yt is ſayed, they ſwymme in great ſcooles together approchinge neere the ſhoare, delightinge to ſee fires, or anye humayne creatures, and are guided by kinges, as the bees are, w^ch^ goeinge formoſt are followed of the multitude, and that the brightenes of their Eyes ſhine in the water like a lightninge, by w^ch^ marke, they are diſcerned from the land. Yt is written, that their kinges are marked on their heads like a †Crowne, and are ruddie of colour, this fiſhe contrarye to the nature of all other fiſhe is ſaied to feede and lyve onely by water, & as ſoone as he is brought into the ayre preſentlie[3] dyeth, *Rondeletius*[4] writtinge of the hearinge, *li.* 7. *de piſcibus, cap.* 16, ſaieth *Gregalis est piscis, et tam magni ſunt Haringorum greges vt capi non posſunt, sed post autumni æquinoctium, in acies se dividunt. locaque mutant, et gregatim per oceanum vagantur, quo fit vt multi ſimul capiantur,* Theſe kinde of fiſhe is taken on the ſhores of this Countrey in great abondance, eſpeciallie for the viij^t^ yeares paſt, more then in former yeeres, the places of their takeing in this ſhire moſt vſuallie was in

Hering.

Guicherdin epitome, fo. 11.

Kinges of Herings.

Fo. 61b, anc. 58b

[1] These large pearl-muscles (*Mya margaritifera*) are also found, *e.g.*, in the river Llugwy in Carnarvonshire. Their Welsh name in those parts is (or was) *cragen* (or *crogen*) *y diluw;* see Williams' *History of Aberconwy*, p. 144. British pearls and their dusky hue are referred to in the following passages: '*Uniones* in Britanniâ parvos atque *decolores* nasci certum est.'—Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, ix, 57; 'Gignit et Oceanus [circa Britanniam] *margarita, sed subfusca ac liventia.*'—Tac., *Agr.*, c. 12. Cf. Solinus, *Polyhist.*, c. 53; Ælian, *Hist.*, xv, 8; *Amm. Marcell.*, xxiii, c. 6; *Origins of English Hist.*, 2nd ed., p. 221.

[2] See note 1, p. 93, above.

[3] Instantly.

[4] Guillaume Rondelet, a French naturalist who died in 1566.

Fishgard, *Newport* and *Dinas*, where for manie yeares, and even from the beginninge there hath ſome quantitie beene yearly taken, of later yeares they haue reſorted to Broade havon, *Galtop roade*, *Martin havon*, *Hopgain* and *S^t^ Brides*,[1] and haue beene plentifullie taken to the great Comoditie of the Countrye, and nowe in the yeare 1602 they haue been taken w^th^in *Milford* havon, and in the Roades of *Tenby* and *Caldey*, and neere *S^t^ Dauids*, and gen*er*allie in everye parte of the ſea ſhoare about this ſhire from the fall of *Tyvy* to *Earewere;* ſo that it ſeemed they had laied ſiedge by ſea about the Countrey; ſo greatlie hath god beſtowed his bleſſings that waie vpon this poore Countrey, the Lord make vs thankefull therefore.

This fiſhinge is chiefely from Auguſt till neere Chriſtmas, but the middle or firſt fiſhinge is counted beſt, as that w^ch^ is fulleſt and fatteſt, the order of takinge them is w^th^ drovers,[2] and ſhooteinge of nettes in knowne places choſen eſpeciallie for the fayrenes of the grounde, w^ch^ nettes are ſhoote in the eveninge, the later the better and drawne vp in the morninge w^th^ ſuch ſtore of fiſhe as pleaſeth god to ſend, ſometimes x. meiſes, ſometimes xij. xvj. or xx meiſes in a boate, each meiſe contayninge xxxj^xx^ or v^cxx^ hering*es*.[3]

[1] These places are all on the south of St. Bride's Bay. Hopgain was on Musselwick Bay. The name is now given to the fisherman's path to the beach. For 'Galtop' see p. 64, above.

[2] Boats for drifting on the tide; see *Faerie Queene*, III, viii, 22.

[3] This seems to mean 'thirty-one score or five times 120'; *i.e.*, 620 or 600. The word *meise* in one form or another is widely distributed, and means a certain measure of fish, especially of herrings. It is used in the *Treatise of fysshynge wyth an Angle* (Satchell's ed. of the older form, p. 27) for a catch of fish. In the form *maise* it is used at Clovelly in Devonshire, as a measure by which herrings are sold, consisting of 612 fish (Murray's *Handbook to Devon and Cornwall* [by the late R. J. King], ed. 1872, p. 288). In South Wales the measure is called *mwys o ysgadan* (*ysgadan*, South-Welsh for 'herrings'), as to which Canon Silvan Evans sends the following note: "500 herrings go to a *mwys o ysgadan* in Cardiganshire; but the hundred is usually the 'long hundred' (*cant hir*), *i.e.*, six score or 120, so that practically it is 600. But it is well known in Cardiganshire that *pum cant yw mwys o 'sgadan* ['a *mwys* of herrings is 500'; Dr. Davies in his *Dict.*, 1632, *s.v. mwys*, makes the same statement]. This *cant hir* is common in many other cases. In fact, when smallish things are sold by number, it is almost always 120 that is meant by *cant;* just as 100 lbs. (a 'cwt.') in weight really consist of 112. This also is called *cant hir*." The corresponding term in Manx is *meays dy skeddanyn*, denoting a measure of 620 fish, which the fishermen explain as being arrived at thus: $5 \times (120 + 3 + 1) = 620$. They call the quantities 3 and 1 the 'warp' and the 'tally' respectively; and it will be seen from p. 139, below, that the same reckoning was in use in Pembrokeshire, the tally, however, being there called the *tale*. The

The Pilchers,[1] w^ch^ now of late yeares, are not ſo rife, as before and the Makrell are taken w^th^ them, but of theſe two ſortes nothinge in reſpecte to the hearinge. *Pilchers & Makrells.*

Other kinde of ſea fiſhe this countrey yeeldeth in great plentie, at ſeaſons, w^ch^ for that they are of ſo manie ſeverall ſortes, yt wold require a particuler volume to write of everye ſeu*er*all kinde, & of the order of taking of them, wherefore I will onely name ſo many ſortes of ſea fiſhe as my memorie will ſuffer me, as this ſhore yeeldeth, w^ch^ are theis that follow; Turbutt, Hollybutte, Byrte,[2] †Sole, plaiſe, flooke, flounder, lynge, Myllwell otherwiſe called codde, hake, Millett, baſe, w^ch^ breedeth twice a yeare as ſayeth *Rondeletius, li.* 9 *ca.* 51 Conger, gurnett gray and redd, whitinge, hadocke, ſhadde[3] the frier,[4] Bowman,[5] ſea ſmeltes, ſea breames, the cowe,[6] ſword fiſhe, ſpratte or ſandeele,[7] The Erle[8] or needle whoſe fynes growe forward contrarie to the nature of all fiſhe; Roughe hounds, ſmothe hound*es*,[9] thornebacke,[10] Raye, ſharke, w^th^ manie Fo. 62a, anc. 59a. *Sortes of other fiſhe.*

author's figures, given above, 620 and 600 respectively, are arrived at according as the 'warp' and 'tally' are included in or excluded from the calculation. There is also in Cardiganshire a method of counting herrings represented by the saying: *Un hugain ar hugain ag un 'sgadenyn ar hugain*, *i.e.*, '21 score and 21 herrings' (441); here the 21 represents the 'tale' or 'tally' of one per score. This is sometimes called a *mwys*, but probably by mistake. Pughe's explanation of the *mwys* as 'five score herrings' must be based on an error.

In the semi-Celtic W. Devonshire and S. Pembrokeshire, it is probable that the technical meaning of the Cornish and Welsh *mwys* was attached to the later-introduced Norman word.

The words *maise* and *meise* are probably derived straight from the Old-French *meisse*, *maise*, *méesse* (the Low-Latin answering to which is *mesa* or *meisa*), derived from Lat. *mensa*, as also are (direct) the W. *mwys*, Cornish *muis* ('a table', like Spanish *mesa*), and Irish *mias*, 'a table or dish'. The Welsh *mwys* seems also to have meant 'a hamper'; and Davies explains *mwys bara* as *panarium*. For further information on these words, and an explanation of how the variation in their meanings may have arisen, see Rhys' *Arthurian Legend*, 312-3. It may be added to what is there given that the *mesa halecum*, 'maise of herrings', was known both in France and Sweden; that in French it was called *maise d'hareng*, and contained 1,020 or 816 herrings, according to whether they were smoked or fresh respectively, packed in casks; and that another meaning of *maise* was 'a bundle (of hemp or withes)'.—J. R. and E. P.

[1] Pilchards. [2] The burt or bret, *i.e.*, the brill. [3] The allice shad.

[4] The monk-fish or angel-fish. The 'cowled friar' of the *Compleat Angler*, pt. i, chap. 1.

[5] Dr. Murray, in the Oxford *English Dictionary*, quotes Folkingham, a contemporary writer, but does not explain. The name was used in Pembrokeshire and Gower for the horse mackerel. [6] The whiting pout.

[7] The sprat is of the herring family, but the name is still given locally to the sand-eel or sand-launce (Fr. *lanson*). [8] The great pipe-fish.

[9] Dog-fish. [10] A kind of skate.

other kinde of ſea fiſhe w^ch^ I cannot nowe remember, are taken in the ſea coaſtes of this countrey, w^ch^ maketh the markett*es*, and gentlemens houſes to be plentifullie ſerved, beſide the great reliefe for the poore neere the ſea coaſt*es*, the chiefeſt places of fiſhinge of this ſhire, thoughe eu*er*ye place yeeld ſome, is *Milford* havon, *broade havon*, *S^t^ brides*, *Stackpoole*, the roades of *Tenbye* and *Caldey*, where for the moſt parte there is noe faile.

Oysters. Nowe for ſhell fiſhe, this ſea is allſo noe niggard both for plentye, and ſeverall kindes, Emonge whome before all I will give place to the *Oyster*, w^ch^ *Mylford* havon yeeldeth, moſt delicate and of ſeverall ſortes, and in great aboundance, and is a comoditie much vttered in manie ſhires, for by water they are tranſported to *Bristoll*, and to the *Forest of Deane*, from whence by lande they are ſent to *Somerſetshire*, *Gloucestershire*, and ſome part*es* of *Wilteshire*, and oftentimes vp the river,[1] as farre as *Worcester* and *Salop;* they are allſo carried by lande to the ſhires of *Carmarthen*, *Cardigan*, *Brecknock; Radnor Monmouth; Hereford*. *Montgomerye*, and ſo to *Ludlowe*, and other partes of *Shropshire*, the chiefeſt places of takinge theſe Oysters is *Lawreny*. *Landgome*, the *Pyll* and the *Crowe*,[2] The firſt is accompted the fatteſt, whiteſt, & ſweeteſt, the *Pyll* oyſter for that yt is leſſe waſhed w^th^ freſhe water taſteth more ſalte, and therefore more pleaſinge to ſome, and is lardger growne; and the *Crowe Oyster* ſtryveth w^th^ them both, for delicacie,

The maner of dredginge. Theſe Oyſters are taken by dredge (w^th^in *Mylford* haven) w^ch^ is done w^th^ a kinde of Iron, made w^th^ barres, havinge a peece of horſe or bullocke ſkynne ſowed to yt like a bagge, in ſuch ſort as that it being faſtened to a ropes end is caſt into the bottome of *Milford* at viij or x fathome deepe, and is dragged at a boates ende by two rowers w^ch^ rowe vp and downe the channell, and ſo the bagge of leather, being made apte to ſcrape vp all manner of thinges, lyeing in the bottome, gathereth vp the oyſters that breede there over certaine knowne bedds, w^ch^ bagge beinge filled they drawe vp, and emptie their oyſters into their boate †Applyeinge their labour ſo all daye, and when they have done they rowe to ſome appointed place neere the ſhoare at full ſea, & there caſt out the Oyſters in a great heape, w^ch^ they call beds, where everye tide overfloweth them, and ſo are kepte for ladinge of boates to *Briſtowe* and other places.

Fo. 62b, anc. 59b.

Were yt not that the *Walfleete*, and *Greenefeende*[3] oyſters are

[1] Severn. [2] Langwm, Castle Pill, and Pennar Mouth.

[3] Oysters of Malden and Colchester. The Wallfleet oysters got their name from a sea-wall at the mouth of the Blackwater (Gough's Camden, ed. 1789, ii, 54). As to the 'greening' of Colchester natives, see Morant's *Essex*, i, 92. Howell, *Familiar Letters* (Jacobs' ed.), i, 111, speaks of *green finn'd* oysters.

better frinded[1] in *Courte*,[2] then this poore countrie Oyſter of *Milford* is no queſtion but he wold, and well might call in queſtion to haue the chiefe praiſe before them both; And I p*re*ſume if the poet *Horace* had taſted of this *Milford* Oyſter he wold not haue p*re*-ferred the oyſter *Circei*. w^ch^ is a towne of *Campanie*, before this, where he comendeth diu*er*ſe fiſhes, for the Countreys breede ſayeinge[3]

Horat. li. 2. satyr. 4.

Lubrica naſcentes implent Conchilia Lunæ.
ſed non omne mare est generosæ fertile testæ,
Murice Baiano, melior Lucrina Peloris,[4]
Ostrea Circeis, Miſeno oriuntur echini,
Pectinibus patulis Jactat ſe molle Tarentum

In Englishe thus

The moone's encreaſe doeth fuller much the slippery cockles make
In every ſea yee shall not store of dainetie shell fishe take.
The Baion welk, but henfishe[5] *best are in Lucrina Lake,*
The Circen Oyster, lympyns breed about Miſenum most,
For Goodlie Scallops bove the rest, doth faire Tarentum boaste

Oiſters vncleane, vnprofitable & vngodlie meate.

A pleaſant minded man imagininge the worſt, that might be ſpoken of the Oyſter ſaied; yt is an vncleane meate, an vnprofitable meate, and an vngodlie meate, vncleane meate for fowlinge of handes in openinge of them, ſo that allwayes you muſt haue water to cleane your hands after them, vnprofitable for lett a man eate never ſo good a meale at Oyſters, preſentlie he ſitteth to dynner, and eateth as earneſtlie, as if he had not eaten anye thinge before, vngodlie, becauſe it is never vſed to ſaie grace before Oyſters, as before other meate.

Caldey Oiſters.

Beſide this *Milford* oyſter, there is a great kind of oyſter, gathered at *Caldey* and *Stackepoole*, w^ch^ being eaten rawe ſeeme to ſtronge a meate for weake ſtomackes and muſt be parted in ij, iij or iiij^or^ before he maye be eaten, by reaſon of his exceedinge biggnes and are not counted ſo pleaſinge as the former, and therefore †ys vſed in Pyes, ſtueing*es*, brothes, fryed and boyled, wherein he is found moſt delicate. The Oyſters in auncient time were accompted ſeaſonable, in thoſe monethes onely, that had R. but experience nowe teacheth that in *May*, *June*, *July*, and *August* there are ſome found to be very ſweete and wholeſome, thoughe manie be vnholeſome, which are eaſylie diſcerned, being opened they are filled w^th^ a cruddy matter like creame about the fiſhe which *Plynie* ſpeaketh of *li. 9. cap. 51*; and as *Petrus Gillius*[6] ſaieth, the oyſter ys ſtrangely engendred; of

Fo. 63a, anc. 60a.

[1] Befriended.

[2] After *Courte*, there was originally written 'and better acquainted with the Judges of this land'.

[3] Hor., *Sat.*, II, iv, 30.

[4] The giant muscle.

[5] See note 8, next page.

[6] Pierre Gilles, a French naturalist, who died in 1555.

this milke, by caſtinge of yt vpon anie ſtocke or Rocke that is over-
Rond. li. 1, de testaceis ca. 37.[1] flowen, oyſters are engendred thereof ; but wee finde by experience that the Oyſters breede their yonge, as the beggers doe, by bearing them on their backes, but thoſe that are founde w^th^out this mylke are found as good and as ſweete in thoſe r leſſe monethes, as at any other tyme of the yeere.

Lobſters and Crabbes. Lobſters, and Crabbes are allſo found in the ſea klyffes, and other places and are verye ſweete, and delicate meate, and plentie taken, The Lobſter ſaieth *Darion*[2] ſett whole on the table, hath iij ſpeciall qualities, for ſaieth he, he yeldeth excerciſe, ſuſtenance and contemplac*i*on, excerciſe in Crackinge his legges, and Clawes, ſuſtenance by eatinge the meate, Contemplac*i*on in beholdinge the Curiouſe worke of his compleate Armo*ur* both in hue, and workemanſhip, by beholdinge his taſes, vauntbraces, powldrons, Couſhes, gauntletts, and gorgett*es*[3] curiouſelie wrought and forged by the moſt admirable workeman of the world,

And the Crabbe doth ſenſiblye feele the Courſe of the Moone, and fillinge and emptyeing yt ſelfe w^th^ the encreaſe and decreaſe thereof, and therefore ys ſaied to be beſt at the full moone.

Shrimpe. The ſhrimpe is allſo an inhabitante, and taken vpon every ſpringe from the begyninge of Maye till harveſt, and thoſe are moſt delicate, and ſweete meate, they are chiefely taken about Tenby in pyttes in the ſand after the ebbe,

miſculls, ympins,[4] Creviſes,[5] ſheth or haft fiſhe,[6] Cockles, fflemminge*s*,[7] welkes. Perywinkles, hens[8] and diu*er*ſe other ſhell fiſh are taken in ſoundrie and moſt p*ar*tes of the ſhore,

Strange nature fishe. Laſtlie I will end my fiſhe meale, w^th^ the ij ſtrandge nature fiſhes, that is the ſeale or ſea calfe, the porpiſe, and the thornepole,[9]

[1] Rondelet ; see note 4, p. 121, above.

[2] Probably Claude Dariot, a French physician and astrologer who died in 1594.

[3] These are parts of the knight's plate-armour. The tasset was the upper thigh-guard ; the vambrace, the upper arm-plate ; the pauldron, the shoulder-plate ; the cuish (in French *cuissard*, from *cuisse*, 'a thigh'), the thigh-plate ; the gauntlet, the iron glove ; and the gorget, the throat-guard.

[4] Muscles and limpets. *Limpin* is still the local name for the limpet.

[5] Cray-fish (from the French *écrevisse*).

[6] The razor-fish. Tonkin, in his edition of Carew's *Survey* (p. 99), says that their Cornish name (applied also to cockles, wrinkles, and limpets) was *keligen*, but that some called them *capalongas*.

[7] The *Mya arenaria* (the soft clam), called in Shetland and the Norse parts of Scotland 'smirslin'.

[8] The *Pecten varius*. 'Flemings' and 'hens' are names still given locally to these river shell-fish. See last page, where *henfishe* translates Horace's *Peloris*.

[9] The grampus.

I call them ſtrange of nature, for whereas all other fiſhe that breede their owne kinde, doe ſpawne, theſe doe ingender after the nature of beaſtes, and the female doe growe great and bring furth yonge./

†The ſeale is covered w^th^ heare, like a calfe, and hath iiij^or^ ſhort legges, and broad pawed like to the moale, this fiſhe cometh to land to reſt and ſleepe, and lye together in hords, like ſwyne one, vpon an other, and at byrth time, as *Plynie* ſaieth cometh a land and is deliu*er*ed, and giveth ſucke to the yonge, till he be able to ſwymme w^ch^ he ſaieth wilbe in xij daies, and never bringeth above two at a tyme ; the ſawne at the firſt is white, and is more delicate meate, then his Anceſtor being ſtrong and fullſome to eate, Yet is yt accompted a dayntye and a rare diſhe of manie men ; This fiſhe is verie fatte as Bacon, and the ſkynne ſerveth to manie vſes being dreſſed, eſpeciallie in tymes paſt for coveringe of tentes, becauſe yt receiveth no hurt by lightninge*s* as ſaieth *Plynie*[1] *li. 2. ca. 55.* and ſaieth *Rondeletius li. 46. cap. 6.* the here of the ſeale ſtareth[2] at the ſouth windes, and goeth ſmooth w^th^ the North, but certaine yt is yt doeth ſo at the fflood and ebbe, ſtaring w^th^ the one, and ſmoothing w^th^ the other, Fo. 63b, anc. 60b. *Seale.* *li.* 9, *ca.* 13.

The Porpiſſe is in forme like a makrell long and round, but more huge, as ſome of xij or xvj foote longe, and his ſkynne is ſmooth w^th^ out heare of ſcale, like to the Eele or Lamprey, his fiſhe is rammiſhe,[3] fatte, and ſtronge for a weake ſtomacke to diſgeſte, there is of this fiſhe, and of the thornepole made ſtore of oyle, thoughe verie ſtronge and of evill ſmell, *Porpiſſe.*

The thornepole is of like forme, biggnes and taſt, and in all other thinges to the *Porpiſſe ;* differinge onely in having a great round hole in the pole of his head, thoroughe the w^ch^ he vſeth to ſpoute out water in great ſtreames, received in throughe the mouth. *Thornpole.*

Theis three kinde of fiſhes being ravenouſe by nature followe the ſculls[4] of heringe*s* feedinge on them, and devouringe them, and ſo in heringe fishing, are taken often times wrapped in the hering nettes.

[1] 'Tabernacula pellibus beluarum quos vitulos appellant, quoniam hoc solum animal ex marinis non percutiat (fulmen),' *Hist. Nat.*, ed. Teub.

[2] Becomes stiff. See Marlowe, *Hero and Leander*, 5th Sest., 485.

[3] Fetid. See Chaucer, *The Chanones Yemannes Tale*, 'Hir savour is so rammish.'

[4] Schools.

Fo. 64a, anc. 61a

Of abondance *of foule that the Country yeeldeth, and of the ſeverall ſortes thereof.* Ca: 16.

Haveinge ſpoken ſomewhat of the fiſhe taken in the Countrye as one chiefe Comodytie of the ſame, yt ſtandeth in Courſe next to ſpeake of the fowle, w^ch^ yearely breedeth in, and haunteth the land and ſea ſhore w^ch^ are not ſo diu*er*ſe in kinde, as aboundant in multitude, and plentie, w^ch^ is allmoſt incredible to be reported ; and what plentie, and chepenes ys to be had at ſome times and ſeaſons, whereof ſome are found allwaies in ſeaſon, as the grouſe, heathcocke, and woodquyſt,[1] the Crane,[2] the heronſhew, the gull kept, and fedd, the Curlew &c., ſome other are but at ſeaſons, as the woodcocke, the wild gooſe, wild ducke, bittur, wilde ſwanne &c.

Gulles. But of all fowle, wee of *Penbrokeshire* claime intereſt in two ſortes chiefely, that is the gull, and the woodcocke, for the great plentie wee aſſure our ſelves of yearely, the firſt being our owne naturall, and natyve Countrye fowle breede amonge vs, and for his good ſtomacke much of diſpoſic*i*on, w^th^ the baſer ſort of labouringe people of ſome part of our Countrey that are (truelie) ſlaundred[3] with eating fyve meales a daye, and in ſuch aboundance, and plentie, that in their ſeaſon, the townes & countrey about are verye plentifullie ſerved therew^th^ ; the chiefe nurſerie of this fowle is in ſmall Iland*es*, in the ſea, and neere the lande whereof I have made mention before in the 14. chapiter, where I entreate of ſalte Ilands, where in Maye and June they are found to breede in ſuche plentie, that you can hardlie walke on the lande of ſome ſmall Ilands w^th^out treading on the Egges in the neſtes vpon the ground. theſe fowles breede allſo in the ſea cliffes in great ſtore, and are ripe about mydſomer, at w^ch^ time they become fluſhe,[4] and are taken being readye to forſake their neſtes, and ſuch as are fluſhe are followed w^th^ boates, and taken ſwymminge, not beinge able to flee, and a broght a land, and are very dayntie meate[5] · p*re*ſentlie

[1] The blackcock (cf. Welsh *grugiar*, 'a grouse') and wood-pigeon.

[2] The crane has left us ; the heron or heronshaw (properly young heron) is still locally called the 'long crane'.

[3] Slandered.

[4] Fledged. To 'flush' a bird is to make it take wing.

[5] Lewis says that in his day they would as soon think of eating cormorants.

as ſoone as they are taken, and wilbe fedd, and kept as a readye diſhe all the yeare, over and beſide the p*ro*viſion, w^ch^ the gentlemen and others of the ſheere doe make to ſerve their houſes, there is great ſtore ſould into England, and ſought and ſent for out of the inland ſhires, a hundred miles and more.

Wooddcock. The woodcocke, althoughe he be not our countryeman borne yet wee muſt needes thinke him to be of ſome affinitie to manie of our countrie people, by reaſon of the love and kindenes he ſheweth in reſortinge hither, firſt of all before other partes of Wales, or †England, and in more aboundance, then ellswhere, and ſtayeing longer w^th^ vs then in anie other place, and if I maie in ſport ſuppoſe a cauſe thereof, let yt be, for that the people in gen*er*all of this countrey are found to be of more playne meaninge, ſimple, harmeleſſe, and fartheſt from Machiavill deviſes, or bearinge highe and pryeing ſpyryttes; this fowle being noted likewiſe for his ſymplicitie (of ſome called foolerye) yt maye be gueſſed, he maketh choice rather to converſe amonge theſe people being neereſt to his innocent, playne and ſymple humo*ur*, according to the old Adage. *ſimilis ſimilem ſibi quærit*, but whatſoever the cauſe ys, wee are moſt beholding to him of all other fowle, and firſt for his tymelie viſitinge vs; Yf anie Eaſterly winde be alofte, wee ſhalbe ſure to have him a fortnight, & ſometimes 3 weeke before Michaelmas, and for plentie yt is allmoſt incredible, for when the chiefe time of haunte ys, wee haue more plentie of that kinde of foule onely, then of all other ſortes layed together, the chiefeſt plentyeys betweene Michaelmas and Chriſtmas, and in theſe three monethes he viſiteth moſt houſes, their chiefe takinge is in cockeroades[1] in woodds, w^th^ nettes erected vp betweene two trees, where in cocke ſhoote tyme (as yt is tearmed) w^ch^ is the twylight, a litle after the breakinge of the daye, and before the cloſinge of the night) they are taken, ſometymes 1j. 11j. or 111j at a fall. I haue my ſelfe oftentimes taken vj at one fall, and in one roade, at an eveninge taken xv111j, and yt ys no ſtrange

Fo. 64b, anc. 61b.

[1] Fenton (p. 6), in his eulogium on his great-grandfather John Lewis, says that he remembers three glades at Manarnawan used in his time for catching woodcocks in winter. And see our author's account of the wood of Pen Celli (cf. pp. 86, 101, above), quoted from a Bronwydd MS. by Fenton, in *Cambrian Register*, ii, 104: 'Also there is in said wood 13 *cock shots*, wherein is great store of woodcocks taken yearly, which *cock shots* are the Lord's own,' etc. Shakespeare, *Rich. III*, v, 3, speaks of 'cock-shut time'. *Cockshut* occurs commonly in the place-names of the parts of England that border on Wales, and is not uncommon in parts of Wales itself. In at least one case it has been Wallicized into *Cocsyth*. There is a place called *Cockroad* between the Hardington and Buckland Woods, about three miles N. of the town of Frome.

thinge to take a hundred or ſixe ſcore in one woodd in xxiiij^{or} houres if the haunt be good, and much more hath beene taken, thoughe not vſually. Yt is ſtrange to thinke from whence theis fowles ſhold come in ſuch ſoddayne forte, as they are ffond to doe, for if there be not one ſeene, or to be founde in the Countrye, if at any time, the Eaſt Southeaſt or Northeaſt winde blowe could, and ſharpe, this Countrey wilbe full wthin xij houres, and yet in the countries, w^{ch} lye Eaſt of this not one to be ſeene or found in a moneth after: then againe the nature of the foule ys not to flee in the daie tyme, nor in the night, but reaſteth all daye in the woodd, and all night abroad in the fieldes feedinge, and onely fleeth one flight every evening out of the woodd into the fields, and every morninge retourneth againe into the woodd, and ſo reſteth all daye, and all night, ſo that yt ys to be marveiled, from whence they come, or where they breede; for if they ſhold come from out of the Eaſterne Countreys; yt were very likely they ſhold bee ſeene to flee by day or by night, w^{ch} as I ſaied before ys againſt their nature, allſo they ſhold be found in thoſe Countries w^{ch} lye Easterly of this ſheere, as ys the Counties of *Carmarthen*, *Brecknock*. *Cardigan*, *Radnor* and *Salop*, in w^{ch} Countreyes yee †ſhall hardlie finde any iij weekes or a moneth after this Countrie ys filled with them: ffurther they come not by one and one or fewe, but at a ſoddaine all p*ar*tes are filled wth them, ſo that ſome men of Judge-m*en*t are of opynion, that they are to be nombred *Inter animalia imperfecta;* and that they are engendred[1] and raiſed by the meare Eaſterlye winde of ſome ſubſtance here in the Countrie; the like whereof you may reade of diu*er*ſe other fowles and other wormes in *Plynie.*

Fo. 65a, anc. 62a.

The Plentie of this, and other kinde of fowle hath beene ſuch in a hard wynter, as I haue hard a gentleman of good ſort and credytte report that he hath bought in *S^{t} Dauids*, ij woodcockes, iij ſnipes, and certayne teales and black byrd*es* for a peny, and ſuerly yt will not be beleeved in other places, what penyworthes are hadd of fowle in this Countrye yearely.

Beſide theſe two kindes of fowle, w^{ch} wee accompte among houſhold fare, the countrye yeeldeth great ſtore of other ſortes, as the mounteines foſter the grouſe, heathcocke, which are allwaies in ſeaſon, and the plover both grey and ruſſett,[2] the ſea clyffes harbour the wylde pygeons, the dove houſe the tame, In the bogges

[1] For this curious theory of wind-eggs, cf. Varro, *De Re Rust.*, ii, 1. Virgil (*Georg.*, iii, 275) attributes similar powers to the west wind.

[2] The golden plover.

breedeth the crane the byttur,[1] the wild ducke, and teale, and diu*er*ſe others of that kynde; on highe trees the heronſhewes, the ſhovler,[2] & the woodquiſtes: the heronſhewes are allſo found in many places of the ſea clyffes but chiefely on highe and ſtately trees, to w^ch^ places they are quickely allured by placeing of horſehead bones vpon branches of trees, w^ch^ will provoke them to like of the place; where they breede they come in companies, ſo as you ſhall haue in ſome places xij, or xvj neſtes vpon a tree, they breede iij times in the yeare, if the yonge be taken awaie, otherwiſe but once, they hatche firſt about *Aprill* and *Maye*, and comonly bringe furth at the firſt ſitting, 4. 3. the next, and laſtlie .2: yonge. *Heron-shewes.*

In the field breedeth the Partridge, quaile, raile, lapwinge and larke, and many other ſorte of ſmall byrd*es*, and in ſhrubbes, groves and hedges breedeth the pheaſant thoughe ſcarcely in this Contrye. The Curlieue[3] contynueth allwayes in this Countrye, yet never fond to breede, and they flee in ſmall herdes together.

The Countrie yeeldeth allſo diu*er*ſe other fowle, as wild geeſe, Whyniard*es*,[4] the Puett,[5] the Curlew knave,[6] the gwylim,[7] the ſhel-drake, both ſorts of dyvers or dippers, the pilwater,[8] the Wigion, Cootes, w^ch^ allſo keepe in Companies, ſea pies, and ſea crowes,[9] being moſt water foules, beſide the blacke bird, thruſhe, the wynter ſocke, the ſtare,[10] the houſe and headge ſparrowes, the ſynche †The bunten, all w^ch^ ſhold haue beene ſeated[11] w^th^ ſmall bird*es* before And as I ended my laſt chapter of fiſhe w^th^ three ſtrandge natured fiſhes, ſo lett me ſhutte vp this of fowle w^th^ the like; of w^ch^ I finde two, the one ſtrange in accompt, the other in nature; firſt of w^ch^ is the Puffine, a bird in all reſpectes bredd of byrd*es* of his kinde by layeing egg*es* fethered & flieing w^th^ other birdes in the ayre, and yet is reputed to be fiſhe, the reaſon I cannot learne. But if I were ſo ceremoniouſe as to refrayne fleſhe at ſeaſons, I ſhold hardely adventure to eate this fowle for fiſhe, yt is a water fowle leſſer then the ducke and lardger then the teale, footed & beaked like vnto

Fo. 65b, anc. 62b. *The bunting.*

Puffin.

[1] This is the old form of the word (from Fr. *butor*). The bittern has been improved off the land by modern drainage. See *Faerie Queene*, viii, 50.

[2] The shovelard, or spoonbill (a Wader). Sir Thomas Browne, writing in the next generation 'On Norfolk Birds', mentions them as common in his time (*Works*, Wilkin's ed., iv, p. 315).

[3] The curlew (Fr. *courlieu*), in Welsh (*y*) *Gylfin-hir*, corrupted in the Vale of Dovey into *Glyfeinir*.

[4] Shoveler duck.

[5] Black-headed gull.

[6] The whimbrel.

[7] The guillemot.

[8] The Manx shearwater.

[9] Oyster-catchers and cormorants (called in Welsh *morfran*, *mulfran*).

[10] The fieldfare and starling.

[11] Set down.

them and breedeth on the Iland of *S^t Dauids*[1] and other like places.

Barnacle. The ſecond is the Barnacle a goodlie byrd in all reſpectes like the wild ducke, but much lardger, having head and foote like to the ducke and ys in eatinge like yt allſo. This fatherleſſe byrd is bredd of noe parent, but engendred by ſecreat nature out of ſome peece of tymber remayninge long in the ſea, and at ſhippes ſides having remayned long in the ſalt water, out of w^ch vpon longe ſtringes or roapes ſhalbe ſeene x. xx. or xxx of theſe byrdes growinge out of two ſhells, like muſkle ſhells, where you ſhall finde ſome beginninge to appeere out of the ſhells, having the p*er*fect forme of a fowle, some more ripe, readie to fall of, havinge winges, legges, and budds of feathers, hanging onely by the bill, of theſe I haue ſeene manye and as the people report, and verielie are perſwaded theſe be the Barnacles, for other breedinge there is not found of them.[2]

[1] Ramsey Island. See note 4 on p. 112 above; to which it may be added that the two chapels thereon, *Capel Stinans* (*sic*) and *Capel Divanog* (whence the Island took its name of *Ynys Tyfanog*) are mentioned in a MS. ascribed to George Owen, and part-printed in Browne Willis' *St. David's*, p. 59 (see the Preface to this work), where a ridiculous derivation is proposed for *Divanog* by the communicator of the MS. Fenton (p. 123) cites a Welsh distich alluding to the neighbourship of these two saints in Ramsey Island: *Stinan a Devanog, Dau anwyl gymmydog* ('Justinian and Dyfanog, two dear neighbours'). *Stinan* is the dialectic modification of the name of St. *Justinanus*, as his name is spelt in Capgrave (cf. note 3 on p. 112 above). This saint also left his name to *Capel Stinan*, a mile W. of St. David's, close to *Porth Stinan* (where he landed after having walked over the sea from Ramsey Island holding his head in his arms —see Capgrave, fo. cciia, and Fuller's *Worthies*, ed. 1840, iii, 555) and to *Llanstinan*, near Fishguard (see p. 97 above). His day is given by the Bollandists as August 23rd; but Owen's *Sanctorale Catholicum* (p. 471) says that it was December 5th.—E. P.

[2] The old fable that the bernicle goose was produced from old ships rotten in the ocean was refuted by Ray and Willughby in 1676. (Harris' *Travels*, ed. 1764, ii, 669.)—E. P.

Of the vſuall *meaſure of lands in* Penbrokshire *and howe the ſame differreth in the ſondrie partes thereof.* Ca. 17.

Fo. 66a, anc. 63a.

The **vſuall** meaſure of land vſed in this ſhire much differeth from the ſtatute acre, for yt differeth all together in ſumminge vp, as allſo in the land pole, being the originall of all the meaſures of ground, for whereas the ſtatute[1] *de terris menſurandis* appointeth the pole to be xvj foote and đi.,[2] and that 4 of theſe in bredth, and 40 in length make the acre, w^ch^ being ſummed ſheweth the acre to containe of *planametrie* 160 of theſe poles in length, and bredth; In *Penbrokeſhire* the pole differreth allmoſt in every hundred of the ſheere from other, for in ſome place the pole is but ix foote, and in ſome place xij foote and ſo differinge betweene both as ſhall appeere; and this ſeemeth to be firſt ſo deviſed according to the goodnes of the ground, for in the beſt ſoyle is vſed the leaſt meaſure, and ſo of the contrarie, the pole being knowne, they differre altogether in ſomminge of the acre, from that of the ſtatute, but doe agree therein emong themſelves, which is as followeth: 8 poles in bredth, and xx in length, or 4. in bredth and 40. in length maketh a ſtange,[3] w^ch^ is Juſt in *A stangue.*

[1] 33 Edw. I, stat. 6.

[2] Dimidium, 'half'.

[3] From the Norse, meaning 'a pole'. The *stang*, sometimes also called *stangell*, is still found locally in many parts of Wales, its use being mostly limited to the measurement of land pared for burning. Its extent varies according to the length of the measuring-rod used in the different districts; but the commonest rod is that of 12 statute feet, or 16 Welsh feet of 9 inches, which is that prescribed in the Venedotian and Dimetian Codes of Hywel Dda (*Ancient Laws of Wales*, pp. 81, 90, 263, folio ed.), where it is explained as being a *rod equal in length to the long yoke.* The area of the stang now in use in parts of Carmarthenshire, as in Llanfynydd parish, is made up of forty of these rods in length and four in breadth, and it must always be of that shape. This exactly coincides with the author's statement (see the Table on p. 135) as to the stang used in the Welsh portions of Pembrokeshire. Dr. Owen Pughe (*s. v.* '*ystang*') also agrees in describing the Pembrokeshire stang as a quarter of a Welsh acre (*erw*), containing 160 yards by 16, though in another place (*s. v.* '*cyfar*') he makes the mistake of describing the old Welsh *cyfar* as of the same extent, and the stang as a quarter of the *cyfar*. The probability is that the *cyfar* of some parts of N. Wales and the normal stang of S. Wales were the

accompte (thoughe not in meaſure[1]) w^th^ the ſtatute acre, and the difference is onely in the length of the landpole; and 4 of thoſe ſtangues make the Penbrokeſhire acre; ſo that in accompt the *An acre.* *Penbroke*ſhire acre is 4. Engliſhe acres, but by reaſon the pole of Penbrokeſhire is leſſer then that by ſtatute, the Acre of *Penbroke*-ſhire is ſo much leſſe then foure Engliſhe Acres, and this muſt be proportioned according to the difference of the Pole, for where the pole is found to be xij foote longe, there the *Penbrokshire* acre is ſomewhat leſſe then three Engliſhe Acres, videlicet, by ſo much as

same in size and shape, being 2,560 square yards, *i.e.*, one quarter of the old Welsh acre of 10,240 square yards, which was the author's 'Pembrokeshire acre', and was identical with the customary acre of Cheshire and Staffordshire. Thus, according to Mr. A. N. Palmer of Wrexham, the *cyfar* which was almost universally used until recent years in the parishes of Hope and Mold, in Flintshire, and was there also called the 'yoking', was taken to be 2,560 square yards. A stang of the same size was also used in South Cardiganshire and Welsh Gower; the 'stanga' is mentioned in a survey of land in Llangyfelach parish made in 1326 (Francis and Baker, *Lordship of Gower*, pp. ix, 192), and was probably a quarter of the customary acre of the district, known as '*erw Llangiwg*.' The usual shape of the stang is to be explained by reference to its origin: it was obviously *a furrow-long* for the convenience of the ploughing, while its breadth was decided by the average extent of land that could be ploughed in a day; and as ploughing was originally a joint operation in which several heads of households combined, each one contributing an ox to the team, the land so ploughed was called *cyfar* (lit. 'co-aration' or 'joint-ploughing'). But this shape is not peculiar to Wales; it is that prescribed by the Statute of Edward I for the English acre; the Irish acre is also 4 rods by 40, but the rod is 22 feet; while measurements of the same form are described in the Bavarian laws of the seventh century, and in French records of the ninth. (Seebohm's *English Village Community*, 124, 385-388; Palmer's *Ancient Tenures in the Marches of North Wales*, 10-16.)

But the length of the rod or 'land-bat' varied from 9 to 13½ statute feet in different parts of Wales—see *General View of the Agriculture and Domestic Economy of South Wales*, ii, 502-506, drawn up in 1814 for the Board of Agriculture by the Rev. Walter Davies (*Gwallter Mechain*), who, however, relied for much of his information on Iolo Morganwg. In the hundred of Castlemartin the rod was 9 feet long, 40 square rods making a quarter, 4 quarters a stang, and 4 stangs an 'erw' of 5,760 square yards, which was also 'found in some parts in the west of Glamorgan, and was equal to the Cornish acre'. Davies (*loc. cit.*) differs from our author in stating that the rod of the hundred of Roose was 10½ feet long, making an acre of 7,840 square yards, also found in the hundred of Miskin, Glamorganshire. Mr. Palmer, in a valuable communication, states that the rod in the neighbourhood of Llanidloes is 4½ yards long, *i.e.*, 13½ statute feet or 18 Welsh feet of 9 inches, and that the stang in that district measures 20 rods in length and 8 in breadth. The word *stang* is also used in Northumberland.—LL. T.

[1] *I.e.*, the number of the poles is the same, but their size is different.

the halfe foote in the ſtatute pole doeth yeld in ſurpluſage, for if the Engliſhe pole were xvj foote then ſhold the Acre of xij foote to the Pole, haue beene iuſt three ſtatute Acres, And for the true knowledge of the length of the land poles, thoroughe out all *Penbrokshire*, I haue reduced the ſame brieffelie into a table heere followinge, where is ſhewed howe the Pole differeth in everie parte of every hundred thoroughe the ſhire by every halffe foote, from ix foote the ſhorteſt vntill xij foote, being the longeſt land pole, wherein if I ſhall ſeeme to miſſe in ſome particular hamlett or Townred which p*er*chaunce of late haue altered, yett for the gen*er*alitie the ſame is the neereſt to the vſuall meaſures obſerved throwe out the ſheere

Fo. 66b, anc. 63b.

The lande batte[1] *or pole of Penbrokshire is in*

- †*Kemes* — *xij foote*
- *Kilgarran* — *xij foote*
- *Dewisland* — *xij foote*
- *Rowſe* in *Rowſe* — *xij foote*
- *Rowſe* in *Penbrokshire* — *xj foote*
- *Dungledy* *Anglicana* — *xij foote*
- *Dungledy* *Wallicana* — *xij foote*
- *Narberth* *Wallicana* — *xij foote*
- *Narberth* *Anglicana.* — *x foote*
- *Castlemartin* — *ix foote*

in length

Of the Acres are made oxelands, of oxelande*s* are made plowelands,[2] of Plowelands knights ffees, and of knightes ffees ſome part*es* of the ſhire are made into Baronies; w^ch^ is the vttermoſt & greateſt land meaſure, that this countrye yeeldeth, w^ch^ for the better viewe and eaſe to the reader I haue reduced in table wiſe as followeth ſhewing allſo how manie acres each of theis contayneth of the Contrey meaſure /

Ox lande, plowlandes, and Knight fees.

viij acres make an Oxelande
viij oxelande*s* make a ploweland being . . . 64 acr.
x plowlands make a knight*es* ffee being . . . 640 acr.
xx knights ffees held of the king . . . . 12800 acr.
v knight*es* ffees held of the Earledome of Pembroke } make a Baronie . . . . 3200 acr.

There is allſo a quantytie of land meaſure called a yard of land *Virgata terræ.*

[1] A staff; the word survives in cricket-*bat*.

[2] Davies (*General View*, *loc. cit.*) identifies the 'ploughland' (*carrucata*) with the Saxon 'hide', and states that the parochial rates were levied in many parts of the county on the basis of the 'ploughland'.

in latine *Virgata terræ* the knowledge wherof rather ſerveth to vnd*er*ſtand the Ancient writing*es*, then for anie thinge ells, and this yarde of land contayneth iiij^{or} poles of land.[1]

And thus much ſhall ſuffice for the land meaſure of *Penbrok-ſhire* in this place, onely adding this that I finde by experience, that about xx or xxiiij of theſe knights ffees doe make an Ancient Cantred in *Wales*, w^{ch} moſt comonly contayneth iij *Comotts*, or an hundred Townered*d*s.[2]

Cantreds.

[1] With the above accounts of Pembrokeshire land-measures cf. the local tables of the *Baronia*, p. 46.

The following account of the measurement of land in Carnarvonshire is given from Hengwrt MS. 351 (there misprinted '251'; a MS. once belonging to Edward Lhuyd, and partly in his hand: see *Arch. Camb.* for 1870, 4th Series, vol. i, pp. 326-7), by the late Mr. Wynne of Peniarth in *Arch. Camb.* for 1864 (3rd Series, vol. x), p. 179 (cf. p. 76):

'Tres pedes faciunt unam ulnam.

Quinque ulnæ et dimidium faciunt unam perticam.

Quadraginta perticæ in longitudine et quatuor perticæ in latitudine faciunt unam acram terræ.

Quindecim acræ terræ faciunt unum tostum terræ.

Duo tosta terræ faciunt unam virgatam terræ, et quatuor virgatæ terræ faciunt unum curacatum [*sic:* read *unam carucatam?*] terræ.'

Mr. Palmer informs us with reference to this table that 'the *ulna* there mentioned is the statute yard, and the *pertica* and *acra* are also the statute perch and acre, *i.e.*, $(5.5 \times 40) \times (5.5 \times 4) = 4840$ square yards, or one statute acre; but the local Carnarvonshire acre of 3,240 square yards is well attested.'

[2] Lewis adds in a note to this chapter (*Camb. Reg.*, ii, 149-151) an extract from George Owen's *Vairdre Book*, containing the account of the rents incident to the barony of Kemes, which gives an elaborate calculation that the Pembrokeshire ploughland, divided into 25 acres of arable land (for wheat, barley, oats, peas, pulse, and turnips) and 39 acres of pasture (for 100 sheep, 25 kine, 4 oxen, and 4 horses), would find the people (10 or 12 persons) labour all the year round, with sufficient meat, drink and apparel, and would make sufficient amendment of the land. Among the *Bronwydd MSS.*, in the survey taken by George Owen and others, as commissioners, upon the attainder of Sir John Perrott, of the Manor of Castelbigh, held of the barony of Kemes, and of the manors of Ambleston, Woodstock, and Renaston, held of 'William Woogan, Esq., as of his manor of Wiston', George Owen gives a table showing the different measurements of land in these manors, and adds, 'In Woodstock Ambleston and Renaston I cann finde no certeintye of any knight fee.'

[According to the genuine old lists of the ancient divisions of Wales, the number of commotes in a cantred was by no means uniform, but varied from 2 to 7 or 8, 2 and 3 being the commonest numbers. The distinct tendency of the writers of the later and largely spurious lists was to manipulate the older materials so as to make as many cantreds as possible uniformly contain three commotes. See the pretended list of Dimetian cantreds and commotes on p. 46 above, and the remarks thereon in note 2, p. 45; and cf. *Y Cymmrodor*, xi, 55-6.—E. P.]

Of weights *and Measures vſed in* Pen-brokſhire *aſwell drie as liquid.* Cap. 18.

Fo. 67a, anc. 64a.

ffor weightes, and meaſures, this Countrey althoghe in many kindes yt doeth differ from that w^ch^ is the Comon, and vſuall meaſure vſed thoroughe out the Realme, Yet doeth yt agree in the ynche, foote, and yard, in the quart, gallon, and pound weighte ſavinge in ſuch places, as I ſhall hereafter ſhewe the difference, But for the ſtone, Buſhell, gallon, and in diu*er*ſe other, they vſe difference, aſwell from the vſuall meaſure of the Realme, as in diu*er*ſe partes Emong themſelves w^th^in the ſhire.

Corne meaſure.

And firſt to beginne w^th^ corne meaſure, the ſame in the iij markett townes[1] is accompted & ought to be xvj gallons, or double *Wynchester;* thoughe ſome townes ſeeme to encroche vpon yt, and whereof I haue ſeene and hard much exclamac*i*on, but heare, of little reformac*i*on, This kinde of Corne meaſure is obſerved in all partes of the ſheere, that vſeth theſe three Markett townes, and in *Dewiſland* or *S^t^ Dauids* the Buſhell is accompted to be ſomewhat more, But the higher *Kemes*, and the hundred of *Kilgarran* (for that Cardigan towne is their Comon Markett) vſe the meaſure of that towne, which is double *Hauerford* meaſure, or neere about a barrell of *Bristoll* band,[2] and in all theſe buſhells, oates and oaten mault is preſſed and wrunge downe in the pecke, and then filled by heape, where other graine is ſtriken; to ſell corne by the *quarter* is not vſuall in this Countrie, Neither ys the *Cranoke*[3] or *Wey*[4] meaſures vſed in ſelling thereof; but by the

[1] Haverford, Pembroke, and Tenby.

[2] The Bristol mark.

[3] The cranok, or cornook (in Welsh *crynog*), is supposed to have been peculiar, within Wales, to Glamorganshire and part of Monmouthshire, where it was in common use as a lime measure as late as the commencement of the present century. According to the Rev. Walter Davies, in his *General View of the Agriculture of South Wales* (ii, 172), it was generally 10 bushels, but often varied between 10 and 12 in different localities. For its use in Somerset see *Liber Henrici de Soliaco*, 1189 (Roxburghe Club, 1882), p. 13: 'centum *crannos* de sale ad lardarium Abbatis' (de Glaston); the editor adds (p. 155) that 'a *crane* of herrings is a barrel-full'. See his note.

[4] Heavy weight.

buſhell onely, and ſo makeing vp their higher accompte thereof by the ſkores, and hundred*es*.[1]

Woolł weight. The ſtone of wooll is in thoſe partes of the Countrye that haunteth the ſheere marketts aforeſaid accompted xvıj[lb],[2] but there is no wooll ſold vſuallie in theſe three market*tes* within the ſhire, as ſhalbe ſhewed hereafter. By the todde[3] there is none ſold except yt be to an Engliſhe buyer, that cometh of purpoſe, and maketh his bargaine by the todde, as a weight beſt knowne to himſelf.

Liquid meaſure. ffor liquid or wette meaſures, as I ſaied before, wee vſe heere the vſuall pinte, by w[ch] wee p*ro*ceede to make all other meaſures of greater accompte as quartes, gallons, buſhells &c. as two pintes to a quarte, ij quartes to a pottle, ij pottles to a gallon, and this is vſed in moſt of this ſhire, ſaving vpper *Kemes* and *Kilgarran*, where ıj wyne quartes make a *Cardigan* quarte, and vıij wyne quartes to the *Cardigan* gallon, by w[ch] they ſell butter and honye, but in *Cardigan*, and in thoſe partes, that vſe that lardge meaſure they haue taken vp the former ſmall quarte to ſell wyne ale and beere by, and †Not ſo content vſe pottes, and cannes of farre ſmaller meaſure to deceive the people, allthoughe they well knowe howe to enhaunſe the price, w[ch] is one of the greateſt abuſes, that is borne with all in theſe partes, a matter that doeth not a litle empoveriſhe the comons, being the moſt vendable m*er*chandize that vnthriftie people ſeeke for/

Fo. 67b, anc. 64b.

Troy weight. Silver, gold, plate, and perle are bought and ſold by troy weight

Haberdepoies as ys vſed in other partes· and all ſpice, Iron, Roſen, pitche &

[1] 'M. N.', a writer in Browne Willis' *St. David's* (1717), p. 43, speaks 'of a South Wales *Tel*, which is four English Winchester Bushels of Wheat, and five Winchester Bushels of oats', and says that the word *bushel* was sometimes improperly used in the sense of this *tel* 'at this time [1716] in Caermarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan Shires'. The expression *têl* or *têlaid o lafur* (a *têl*, or, as Anglicised in the reports of the Charity Commissioners and elsewhere, a *teal*, of corn) is still common in those counties to which its use is limited. The *têl* in use in Carmarthenshire at the present day consists of 5 bushels of 8 gallons each, whether of wheat, barley, or oats ; but the Cardiganshire *têl* consists of 8 bushels of 8 gallons each. *Têl* is not used in Glamorganshire, where its place is taken by the *stacca*, a measure which contains 3 bushels of wheat or barley, but 6 bushels of oats. Fenton, in his *Statistical Account of Fishguard* (*Camb. Reg.*, i, 259), speaks of a different corn-measure in that town called a *strike*, which consisted of 16 quarts. To this the Rev. Walter Davies (*General View*, ii, 502) adds that 'the Fishguard strike is half a Winchester bushel, and the Fishguard bushel is two Winchesters'. He also gives an account of the difference in the quantity of the *têl* used in the various parts of the country; is the word derived from the English *tale*?—Ll. T.

[2] 17 lbs. The stone of wool is ordinarily 14 lbs.

[3] Two stone. See Shakespeare, *Winter's Tale*, iv, 2.

other drugges vttered by the mercers are ſold by the haberdepoies pound. Iron is ſold by the ſtone w^ch^ conſiſteth of xvj haberdepoys,[1] of w^ch^ ſtones viij make the C. of Iron, and xx^c^ make a toonne. *Iron.*

Coles are ſold by the barrell, w^ch^ is of *Bristoll* band, or neere about foure *Wynchester* buſhells, and not by the Chaldron as ys vſed in other p*ar*tes of this Realme / *Coles.*

Lyme ys ſold by the Buſhell, and ſo by the hundred, and not by the ſeame,[2] or horſeloade, as in other places ; this lyme buſhell is a verye ſmall meaſure, the true quantitie thereof I haue not yet learned ; The hundred of lyme is nowe vſuallye ſoulde betweene iiij^s^ or v^s^ being finely ſhifted, for plaſtring*es*, and ſuch like worke, but for land at iij^s^ iiij^d^. *Lyme.*

Hearings are ſold freſhe by the meiſe, w^ch^ is five hundred, eche hundred contayninge vj^xx^,[3] over w^ch^ there ys by a cuſtome vſed among thoſe kindes of fiſhemongers to have xv. of warpe[4] that is three w^th^ every hundred, and v, of tale, that is, one that ys one caſt by after every hundred, to keepe tale or true Reconinge how many hundreds are told out, ſo that all being accompted together, the meiſe conſiſteth of xxxi^xx^ of hering*es*. *Herings.*

Oyſters are allſo ſold by tale, as by hundred & thouſand and not by the buſhell, as ys vſed in *London*, the M[5] of oyſters at the waters ſide is vſuallie ſold for x^d^ or xij^d^, if yt be not ſomewhat enhaunſed of late years. *Oysters.*

Salt is ſold to the Countrey people by the ſalt buſhell, w^ch^ is a meaſure by yt ſelfe verye ſmall in reſpect of the Corne buſhell Yt conſiſteth of gallons, but the merchantes bargaines are comonly by the barrell, and oftentimes by the toonne, but in bargayninge by the toone, yt requireth that yt be expreſſed what nomber of barrells the toonne ſhalbe of, ffor of late yeares yt is much altered, and toonne tight,[6] w^ch^ comonly is vſed in bargaynes of freight, differreth from the toonne by meaſure both of corne and ſalte. *Salte.*

[1] Avoirdupois.

[2] The word is used in Devonshire ; it is connected with the French *somme*, 'a burden', whence *sommetier*, the original of our *sumpter*, a 'pack-horse'.

[3] Six score. See note 3 on p. 122 above, as to the *meise* of herringes and how it is or was reckoned in various countries and districts.

[4] The warp was *thrown* out after every two score. To tell is literally to number. See the note just referred to.

[5] Thousand.

[6] The pressed barrel. *Toonne* is an old form of 'tun.

Fo. 68a, anc. 65a.

Of faires *and marketts vſed yearly in* Penbrokſhire. Ca. 19.

I haue before declared, that there are iij market townes in *Penbrokſhire*, vidz. *Penbrok*, *Haverfordwest* and *Tenby*, the ſecond whereof being ſeated in the middeſt of the ſhire, & moſt convenient for trade is greatlie frequented of the Countrye people, and therefore ys the greateſt, and plentifulleſt m*ar*kett of the ſhire, and ys kept once every weeke on the ſaturdaye, wherein me thinketh the towne is verye backwarde in their own proffitte, in not ſueinge[1] for an other markett in the middle of the weeke, w^ch^ wold turne to the great good both of the towne and Countrye; allſo they haue but one faire in the yeare, whereas if there were more purchaſed from his Ma^tie^ it might be beneficiall both for towne and Countrey.

Harforde markett.

This markett of *Hauerfordwest* is thought to be one of the greateſt, and plentefull'ſt market^tes^ (all thinges compared) that is within the Marches of *Wales;* eſpeciallie for the plenty and goodnes of victuell, as namely for beeffe, mutton, porke, bacon, veale, gooſe, capon kidd, lambe Conye, turkye, and all ſortes of wild fowle in their ſeaſon, that it is a marveile to manye, where the victuells, that are there to be ſeene at noone ſhold be ſhifted awaye ere night, and for fiſhe yt paſſeth all others in *Wales*, w^th^out anie compariſon, both for plentie and varietie.

Tenby and Pembrok markettes.

Penbroke markett is allſo on the ſaturdaie, and *Tenby* on ſaturdaie for victuells, and on Wenſdaie for Corne; Theſe two townes for their marketts are much inferior for plenty of victuells and Corne to that of *Hauerfordwest*, by reaſon thoſe townes are ſeated, th'one[2] verie neere the lower partes of the ſhire, and much hindred by reaſon of a fferrie on the one ſide, and *Tenby* ſeemeth as yt were a towne running out of the Countrey, and ſtaied on the ſea cliffe by reaſon whereof they ſtand not ſo comodiouſe for reſorte of people, w^ch^ maketh leſſe trade and vtterance in their market*tes*, but both theſe townes being ſeated in a more fruitefull ſoyle then *Hauerfordwest* ys, for goodnes of victuell are nothing inferior, if not better then *Hauerford*, and ſo for goodnes of Corne, and for fiſhe eſpeci-

[1] Petitioning. Fairs and markets can only be held by royal grant, or by prescription which implies such grant.

[2] The one.

allie *Tenby*, where is a daylie m*ar*kett thereof, paſſeth[1] *Hauerford* markett, and therefore yt ys in Welſhe called *Denbigh y pyſgod*, that is fiſhe *Tenby*, for difference betweene yt and †*Denbigh* in *North-wales*. But as theſe marketts are highely to be comended for plentie and goodnes of victuells, ſo hath each of them a great mayme[2] of a good markett, w^ch^ being reformed, as eaſylie yt might be, wold greatlie turne to the good of the markett & the markett men; that is there is no vſe of ſale of lyve cattle in anie of theſe markettes, w^ch^ is the chiefeſt comendac*i*on, and comoditie of manie great marketts in *England*, for in theſe marketts there are neither horſes, oxen, kine, Calves, ſheepe, lambes, ſwyne, or anie other kinde of lyvinge Cattle brought or offred to be ſold, ſo that the poore man wantinge money, and havinge Cattle to ſpare cannot haue money for the ſame till the ſommer faires come, w^ch^ beginne not before the xvi of June, and end in November whereby it cometh to paſſe that what ſoever the huſbandman buyeth in the ſixe moneth of *December. Januarie. Februarie. March*, *Aprill* and *Maye*. he buieth all at daies to be paied at the faire daies, when he maye haue money for oxen kine, ſheepe, or lambes, and by this meanes the ritche man eateth vp the wealth of the poore man, ſo as in this reſpect yt may be ſaied of the poore man of this Countrye as the Poet ſaieth of the oxen, ſheepe, bees, &c. *Sic vos non vobis. etc.*[3] This is a mightie inconvenience in the Comon wealth of this poore Countrie, and w^th^ a litle induſtrye of the better ſorte of people might be redreſſed, for if they did but beginne the vſe of bringing of Cattle to the Marketts, the poore man that wanted money ſhold knowe where to haue money to ſerve his vſe, and allſo thoſe that want either oxe, Cowe, ſheepe or hogge knowe not where to ſupplie their wantes, for want of this vſe, w^ch^ I haue long wiſhed I might ſee ſome good men wold enterprize to induce, and noe doubt god wold proſper the action and all good Comonwealth men wold comend and further,

Fo. 68b, anc. 65b

No liue Catle in markettes.

There are allſo marketts of victuells vſed in *S^t^ Dauids* & *Newporte* not worth the ſpeaking of, partelie for that they be ſo ſmall & badd, but eſpeciallie for the abuſe, for that the ſame is vſed everye ſondaye before ſervice, even about ſunne riſinge.

St. Dauides & Newport.

There hath beene in times paſt diu*er*ſe marketts vſed in diu*er*ſe

[1] It would seem that Haverford bore the palm for quantity, Tenby for quality. *Uwch Hawlfordd fal uchelffair* ('Above Haverford, like a high fair' —Gytto'r Glynn in *Iolo MSS.*, p. 325) has been wrongly translated 'At Havreford, like in a high fair' (*ibid.*, p. 705). [2] Defect.

[3] 'Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter honores,' etc. (*Virg.*).

other places, and by reaſon of the pou*er*tie of the townes, and vnaptenes of the places altogether decayed, as at *Kilgarran*,[1] *Fishgard* *S*^{t} *Dogmells*, *Roſemarkett*, *Wiston*, *Lawhaden*., where, by reporte of Auncient men, m*ar*kett*es* haue beene kept in old time. /

Allſo yt appeereth that there hath beene a great Markett at Newport everye thurſdaie, as well by toll receiued from the ſame as
Fo. 69a, anc. 66a. alſo †By a faire deede[2] yet extant, w^{ch} paſſed betweene the Lord of the Manou*r*, and all his tenantes and ffreeholders of *Kemes* in *Ed:* 1. tyme, whereby they binde them and their heires, and tenantes, not to ſell anye thinge, but firſt to offer the ſame to be ſold at the m*ar*kett of *Newporte;* and there to paye toll for the ſame, but nowe there is no vſe of this, nor anie markett there, w^{ch} amonge other thinges I ſuppoſe to haue beene the chiefeſt cauſe of the decaye of that towne,[3]

Havinge nowe ſpoken thus much of the Conveniencie & inconveniencie of the markett*es* of this ſheere, I will ſpeake ſomewhat of the faires nowe in vſe of this Countrey, wherein for brevities ſake, I will obſerve and laye downe, what faires are kept at eu*er*y place, that hath a faire, wthin the ſhire, and not obſerve the vſuall order annexed to the p*ro*gnoſtications[4] in placeing the faires of everye moneth together for that there is not faires wthin this ſhire for every moneth.

Faires in Penbrokſhire

Hauerfordwest. —	vij° July.	*S*^{t} *Thomas* daie, a great faire,
Penbrok		*S*^{t} *Peters*[5] *daye.* a ſmall faire,
Moncton iuxta Penbrok .		both[6] holey rood daies,
Tenbye		*S*^{t} *Margetts*[7] daye, 20. Julij
		viij° September. nat. Mar.[8]

[1] Phillips, *History of Cilgerran* (pp. 37, etc., 45, etc.), claims that Cilgerran was a market town and a borough by prescription. And see Fenton, p. 503.

[2] The grant of Newport market in 1278 by Nicholas FitzMartin, lord of Kemes, is still extant. It is printed with the *Baronia de Kemeys* (1862), pp. 57-60, and in Fenton's *Appendix*, pp. 69-72.

[3] According to Fenton (p. 540), Newport was a populous place, and a seat of the woollen manufacture early in the 16th century, but never recovered from the effects of a visitation of the 'sweating sickness'.

[4] Almanacks. See Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale*, iv, 3, *ad fin.*

[5] June 29th (New Style).

[6] The Invention of the Cross (its discovery by St. Helena) on the 3rd May, and Holy Cross Day (its appearance to Constantine) on the 14th September.

[7] Probably in connection with St. Margaret's Chapel on Little Caldey. The mediæval fair was generally held on the saint's feast and (until *temp.* Hen. II) in the precincts of his church. Most of the famous English fairs were granted in aid of some ecclesiastical body.

[8] The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin.

Newport	xvj° Junij. *S^t Kirickes*[1] daie a great faire.
Eglosserowe in Kemes . .	Ascention daye Corpus *Christi*[2] the mondaye[3] after *S^t Martins daye* a great faire
Crisswell[4]	Trinitie mundaie, a great ffaire
Lawhaden	xviij° Octobr *S^t Lukes* daie a great faire
Narberth	*S^t Andrewes*[5] daie
Wiston	xxviij° Octobris *S^t. Simon* and *Jude*· a great faire
Kilgarran	x° Augusti : *S^t Laurence*[6] daie, no cattle.
Marthrie[7]	Michaellmas daie.

[1] St. Curig. See Rees' *Welsh Saints*, p. 307, and Howel Lloyd's *Legend of St. Curig* in the *History of Llangurig*, 1875, pp. 311-330. For the importance of St. Curig in the 8th-9th century in Ireland, see the hymn printed by Whitley Stokes in the *Academy* for May 30, 1891 (p. 514) and his *Tripartite Life*, p. cxv, where St. Curig is coupled with St. Patrick. See also Stokes' *Calendar of Oengus*, *Prologue*, 137, and Petrie's *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*, i, 45. For St. Curig and his name in Scotland in the 9th century, see Skene's *Celtic Scotland* (1876), i, 329-30. We may suspect that Newport church was once dedicated to St. Curig ; the only extant dedication in Dyfed to St. Curig is that of *Eglwys Fair a Churig* on the Upper Tâf ; but we learn from Fenton (p. 131) that the *Ffôs y Mynach* (or *Myneich*), near St. David's, was also called Ffôs *Gyrig*.—E. P.

[2] The Thursday after Trinity Sunday.

[3] The fair is held on the Monday after November 22nd, and is called Meugan Fair (in Welsh Ffair Feigan). There was also a Ffair Feigan at St. Dogmael's. See Fenton, p. 514. As to St. Meugan or Meugant, to whom a church in Kemes was dedicated, and the fairs held there in 1618, see above, p. 100, note 2. The churches of Llanvigan (= Llanfeugan) in Breconshire and Llanrhydd near Ruthin are, and Capel Meugan under Llandegfan in Anglesey was, also dedicated to St. Meugan.

[4] Cresswell (Christ Well) on Lawrenny Pill.

[5] November 30th (New Style).

[6] The church was originally dedicated to St. Llawddog (see Phillips' *Hist. of Cilgerran*, pp. 44, 51) ; but the dedication was changed, as in other instances, by the Normans, who probably chose St. Lawrence because his name somewhat resembled that of St. Llawddog. A line of churches dedicated to St. Llawddog, viz., Cenarth (see Gerald's *Works*, vi, 114), Penboyr, and Llanllawddog, extends immediately to the E. of Cilgerran ; for an example of a Welsh saint monopolizing the dedications over a large district, see Rees' *Welsh Saints*, pp. 10, 15.

[7] Mathry.

Trevyne[1] . . . . . *S*[t] *Martins* daye, xj° Novembr, a ſmall faire.

Stackepoole . . . . . *S*[t] *James* daie,[2] a ſmall faire of ſmall ware,

Fo. 69b, anc. 66b. †*Jameston in Maner byre* pariſhe } *S*[t] *James* daie, a small faire,

Theſe faires I finde graunted by Charter from the kinge among the Records in the Towre, but not vſed or kepte,

At *Dale* { a m*ar*kett on Wenſdaye ; a fayre on { *Vigilia festo et crastino*[3] } exaltac*ion*is ſ*ancte* crucis w[ch] is 14 *Septemb.*

At *Redwalls*[4] { a m*ar*kett on Mundaye ; a faire in { *Vigilia festo et crastino* } *S*[ti] *Edmondi Regis* w[ch] is 20. *Junij*[5]

At Henllys { a m*ar*kett on thurſdaie ; a faire in { *Vigilia festo et crastino* } App*osto*lor*um Petri* et *Pauli*.[6]

[1] In Llanrian parish. The Bishops of St. David's had a residence there. See Fenton, pp. 31-2. It was anciently written *Trefdyne* (? = *Tref-din*). It should be mentioned that *Pendine* (see p. 65 above) is a corruption of *Pen Tywyn*, the old name of the place having been *Lann Teliau Pentiuynn* (*Lib. Land.*, 117 ; cf. 54, 60, 244).

[2] The feast of St. James the Great is July 25th. The churches at Stackpole and Manorbier are dedicated to St. James.

[3] The vigil, feast, and morrow.

[4] Fagwyr Gôch in Morvill parish. This fair and market were granted by Edward I to Robert de Dale, on the 5th of December, 1294. The deed is printed with *Baronia de Kemeys*, pp. 75-6. On *Redwall* see Fenton, pp. 345-8 ; and see chapters xxii and xxiii below.

[5] The deed as printed with the *Baronia* (p. 76) has *Edwardi*, not *Edmundi*. The former is correct, the day meant being that of the translation of the remains of St. Edward, King and Martyr, which took place on June 20th, 1001.

[6] June 29th and 30th. This fair and market were granted by Edward I to John de Langton, on the 18th of June, 1284. The deed is printed with the *Baronia*, pp. 76-7.

Of the *wantes and defectes that the Countie of* Penbrok *naturallie hath, and of diuerſe inconveniences in the ſtate of the Countrye.* Ca. 20.

Fo. 70a, anc. 67a.

Haveinge before ſpoken of ſuch comodities, as the countrey yeldeth, yt might thereby be gueſſed, what wantes are allſo in the countrey: But I will heere briefelie touch ſome deffectes, and wantes, w^ch^ the countrye naturallie hath, as allſo remember ſome inconveniences and annoyances found in the Countrey, w^ch^ by the good induſtrie of the people might be redreſſed, w^ch^ inconveniences practized in the countrey, are noe leſſe noyſome,[1] then the naturall wantes of diu*er*ſe thinges w^ch^ the ſoile yeeldeth not,

Want of fruite.

The greateſt want that this Countrie accompteth yt ſelfe to haue, ys fruite, as, aples, peares, wardons,[2] plums, damſons, apricockes, wallnutts, and ſuch like whereof there is ſmall ſtore, or none at all, w^ch^ want, althoughe yt maye be thought to proceede partely of the nature of the ſoyle not being naturallie apt to noriſhe woodde, yet certes ys yt as much by negligence of the inhabitantes in not planting p*re*ſerving and cheriſhinge of fruite trees, for yt ys found by experience, that in diu*er*ſe places, there are found good orchards well thrivinge, and proovinge, for allthoughe the Countrye be much bordering on the ſea, and ſubiecte to the vehement flawes thereof in wynter ſeaſon, w^ch^ nippeth, and maketh the naked buſhes to ſtoope, yet is there fewe or noe village, but the ſame is ſheltred from the wyndes by ſome hills or land, & in thoſe valleys the fruite tymber are found to be verye fruitefull, and eſpeciallie in old tyme about Relligiouſe houſes, as allſo to gentlemens houſes throughout the Countrye, and by diu*er*ſe good huſband mens houſes there is found to haue beene, not onely orchards ſtored w^th^ all kinde of fruite tymber: But allſo about moſt houſes of accompte and countrye villages, prettie groves of woodde, as oake, aſhe, mapple,

[1] Annoying.

[2] A kind of large pear.

Elme, and ſuch like, and diu*er*ſe rare tymber, as the pyne aple tree,[1] the ſpruſe, and fyrre trees, the Mulbery tree & others, which taxeth our Countrie people of great negligence in this pointe./

But althoughe *Penbrokſhire* wanteth fruite of the Countrey breede yet may yt ſaie of fruite as *England* maye of wynes, that there is no great want thereof, but that ſtore of Aples, peares, Wardons, & wallnuts is yearly brought hither by ſea out of the foreſt of *Deane*, and from *Somerſetshire*, in ſuch plentie as you ſhall in everye markett be ſerved as good cheape therew^th^ as you ſhalbe in the chiefeſt fruite Countries, eſpeciallie from Michaelmas till
Fo. 70b, anc. 67b. Eaſter, duringe w^ch^ time boates come contynuallie w^th^ fruite †To be ſold, w^ch^ moſt comonly retorne laden w^th^ oyſters, but you will ſay this draweth great ſtore of money out of the countrey, w^ch^ by good care and induſtrie might be reſerved heere, w^ch^ cannot be denied,

Want of tymber. An other want w^ch^ pincheth this Countrye is ſcarſitie of tymber & woodd for the ſoyle being naturally vnapt for woodd, there is but fewe plac*es* to be found ſtored therew^th^, and that not in gen*er*all, as in the woodland Countries yt is ſeene, where everye man hath ſomewhat, were yt but his hedge rowes: But where woodd ys in this Countrie, yt groweth together in one woodd or foreſt, w^ch^ is of late yeares by ill guidinge much impayred, and allmoſt in mens memorye lyvinge vtterly decayed, whereof I haue ſpoken more before. *cap.* *xj*°: where I ſpake of the ſeverall ſortes of fuell,[2]

Want of inclofures. A third want ys want of Encloſures, whereby a Multitude of towardlye yonge wyttes are ſpoyled by imployeing them to be heardes, ſpoylinge in that idle trade, both outwardlye their ſhape of body, and inwardlye the guiftes of the minde; Of w^ch^ ſort I finde by iuſt accompte, that there is three thouſand and more yonge people imployed in this idle education; this is not the leaſt inconvenience of *Penbrokshire* and yt deſerveth more ſpeech thereof then I nowe purpoſe to afoord in this place, for that I haue touched yt before, where I ſpeake of the ill manredd of this Countrey.

Want of ſchooles. Another thinge is the want of Schooles for the bringing vp of

[1] The native or Scotch Fir (or Pine), *Pinus sylvestris*, is probably meant. Fenton (*Camb. Reg.*, ii, 160) suggests the Pinaster, or Cluster Pine (*Pinus Pinaster*), but this was not introduced until 1596 (Loudon's *Arboretum*, 1838, vol. iv, p. 2219). The Weymouth or White Pine (*Pinus strobus*) is also sometimes called in America the *Apple* Pine, but this was not introduced till 1705 (*ib.*, pp. 2280, 2282). The Spruce Fir (*Abies excelsa*) was introduced before 1548 (*ib.*, p. 2302).

[2] See pp. 86-7 above.

youth in the knowledge of god, and good artes, being the chiefeſt ornament of the minde, w^th^out the w^ch^ as *Cato* hath ſaied, *homo est quaſi mortis imago.*[1] In this I haue not found our anceſtours ſo p*ro*vident as zealouſe in their conceipt towards the religiouſe houſes, for of Abbeys, Priories, and nunries, there were diu*er*ſe erected & founded by particuler men, yet never one free ſchoole or colledge, for the bringing vp of youth hath ever yet by anie beene provided,[2] and if anye were the ſame ys nowe otherwiſe imployed to the burthen of their ſoules, that miſymploye the ſame ; But I accompte one chiefe impedim*en*t of not havinge good ſchoole-maiſters in the Countrye, to proceede from the laſt inconvenience w^ch^ I named, that is, that moſt of the youth of the husbandmen are imployed in hearding of cattle, when their age requireth to be inſtructed in learninge or in ſome manuall or mechanicall arte, So that if ſtore of Schoolemaiſters were p*ro*cured out of the vniu*er*ſities, yet could not the parent*es* ſpare their children from bringinge them up among their bieſſe[3] as they call them to attend ſo good inſtructions : And althoughe conſidering the Championneſſe of the Countrey this inconvenience might be hardlie redreſſed, yet if every man wold Joyne to redreſſe the ſame, as much as his power wold yeald, the ſame †might be reduced to a farre leſſe nomber, if every village would maynetayne one or two comon herds for the townereddes as in moſt places of *England* is vſed, and not every houſholder of the towne to employe ij, or iij yonge people herein, or to take order, that he that was brought vp in his youth therein, ſhold contynue in the ſame all his liefe tyme, and not to imploye him that hath beene a heard a dozen or xvj yeares, to ſome other as vile an occupac*i*on, and in his ſteede to trayne vp an other youth therein, and ſo by conſequence to bring them vp all among beaſtes, to be beaſtely people, but this wilbe remedied when pleaſeth god.[4] Fo. 71a, anc. 68a.

A fifte inconvenience ys the not bringing of live cattle to the *Marketts of Cattle.*

[1] ' Sine doctrinâ vita est quasi mortis imago.' (Cato Dionysius, *Disticha de Moribus*, iii, 2.)

[2] According to Fenton (p. 561), the author built a house intended for a school at College (Velindre Marchog ; see p. 109 above) near Henllys.

[3] Apparently this is meant to represent some local pronunciation of *beasts*, *i.e.*, cattle. Dr. J. A. H. Murray informs us that *biesse* is the regular pronunciation of *beasts* in the S. of Scotland and N. of England, and that it occurs in literature as early as 1450. Halliwell, in his *Dict. of Archaic and Provincial Words* (ed. 1847), gives *bees* (*s. v.*) as used for cows in "the North".

[4] Lewis (*Camb. Reg.*, ii, 166) adds in a note that matters were not much mended in his time ; they had two or three free schools, but mismanaged, and (the same old curse) ' party governing every sort of election'.

weekelie marketts to be ſold, the inconvenience whereof I haue allreadye ſpoken of in the Chapter of faires, and markett*es*, and ſo doe onely remember yt in this place, emong the reſt of the wantes of the Countrye.

fiſhepondes & hopgardens.

The want of fiſhe pounds is another great want, whereof allſo I ſpake in the beginninge at lardge, to w^ch^ alſo maie be added the want of hoppgardens.

Clothinge.

An other want, and inconvenience ys the not workinge of our owne Countrye wooll by our owne people, but ſell the ſame vnwrought to other Countries, yt being one of the greateſt Comodities that this Countrie yeeldeth, and were able to ſett all the Idle people of our Countrye, and manie more a worke, yt is lamentable to ſee and remember how the trade of clothinge vſed in tymes paſt in this Countrie ys nowe vtterly neglected, whereby thouſands were mayntayned, w^ch^ nowe lyve either idle, or vpon other trades, and yet by estimac*i*on, I iudge, that there is nowe twice as much wooll ſhorne in *Penbrokſhire*, as was xl^tie^ yeares paſt, and then all occupied, and wrought w^th^in the ſheare, and ſold in friſes,[1] and now all ſold vnwrought, I knowe not how this blyndenes hath dymmed our eyes not to looke into this maladie, ſo eaſie to be cured, but to ſaye that yt is the p*re*destinate will of god, to whome I leave yt to be reformed. /

broode of horſes.

The laſt want, that I will heere receite, althoughe I overſlippe[2] manye, ſhalbe breede of horſes, whereof this Countrie yealdeth fewe or none, which is more by negligence of gentlemen, then for anie other vrgent cauſe, althoughe the want of foreſts, parkes and encloſures, maye ſeeme to be a great cauſe, yet are there fewe gentlemen, yf they were ſo inclyned, but might well keepe two or three breeding mares vpon their demeſnes, w^ch^ being carefull for

Fo. 71b, anc. 68b.

†The well coveringe of them, might well furniſhe their ſtables w^th^ ſufficient coltes, and ſuerlie for iij or iiij^or^ Mares to be well kept for the ſtudde; I knowe yt by experience, yeldeth more proffitt then anie other Cattle of that nomber, and of like chardge.

I haue ſpoken of 8 wantes, that I chiefely note in this Countrie, of w^ch^ first .4. althoughe they cannot be repayred, and altogether redreſſed by mans induſtrie, the nature of the Countrey ſoyle beinge againſt yt, yet the 4. laſt might w^th^ care, and diligence of the people be wholely reformed, and what good thereby wold enſue to this poore Countrye, lett the diſcreete reader Judge./.

Havinge nowe ſpoken of the wantes that breede diſcomoditie, and decaye of proffitte, w^ch^ is grievouſe for me to write, and to all

[1] Friezes.

[2] Pass unnoticed.

well-willers of our Countrie-good, to read, I will trouble the reader, w^th^ a want or two of our pleaſure, w^ch^ is the nightingall, and the pheaſant, whereof our Countrey hath fewe or none ; Of the firſt there is none to be founde, nor ever anie hard in any age, whereof wee reade or heare, w^ch^ ſome Judge p*ro*ceedeth of the coldnes of the Countrye, or for want of pleaſant groves, but that is not lykely, for althoughe gen*er*allie the Countrye be champion, yet there are in the ſame in ſome partes manie ſweete and pleaſant groves, & valleys, And I haue heard the nightingall in Countries & places in Wales, as ſubiect to cold more then manie partes of *Penbrokshire* ys, Neither do I conſent w^th^ the fable fathered vpon *S^t^ Dauids*, who, as the tale goeth, being ſeriouſe occupied in the night tyme in his divine orizons, was ſo troubled w^th^ the ſweete tuning*es* of the Nightingall, as that he cold not faſten his minde vpon heavenlie cogitac*i*ons, as at other tymes, being letted[1] by the melodie of the bird, praied vnto th' almightie, that from that tyme forward, there might never a nightingall ſing w^th^in his Dioces, and this ſaieth our weomen,[2] was the cauſe of confininge of the bird out of this Countrey,[3] thus much to recreat the readers ſpirittes, *No nightingall.*

As for the Pheaſant, in my memorie there was none breedinge w^th^in the ſhire vntill about xvj yeares paſt *S^r^ Thomas Perrot* knight procured certaine hens, and cockes to be tranſported out of *Ireland*, w^ch^ he purpoſinge to endenize[4] in a pleaſante grove of his owne plantinge adioyninge to his houſe of *Haroldston* gave them libertie therein, wherein they partely ſtayed †and bredd there, and *Pheaſauntes* Fo. 72a, anc. 69a.

[1] Hindered. [2] *I.e.*, old wives' fables. 1 Tim. iv, 7.

[3] This interesting piece of tradition has not been found elsewhere. It is valuable as showing us the ideas prevailing in our author's time as to the westerly limits of the nightingale, whose objections to the western and northern extremities of Britain are well known. In Yarrell's *British Birds* (1871-4), i, 315-6, it is stated to be abundant on the Wye at Tintern, and to have occurred as far west as the Vale of Glamorgan (in the diocese of Llandaff) and Barnstaple and the South Hams in Devon, though rare both in E. Devon and N. Somerset. Gerald, however (Rolls ed., vi, 125) intimates that the nightingale was in his day unknown in Wales ; in which country Monmouthshire and parts of Herefordshire and Shropshire were of course included in his time. Morris (*British Birds*, 1853, iii, 199) also goes so far as to say that the bird is unknown in Wales, and likewise in Brittany. The facts, however, that *eos* (or *ios*, as it is called in the S.E.) in Wales, and *eostik* or *estik* in Brittany, should be such well-known words, and that the nightingale should be of such importance in the poetical tradition of both countries (see, for instance, Marie de France's *Lai de Laustik*), require some explanation. Probably the truth is that the nightingale is hardly known beyond the E. of either country ; but yet in western Wales we have *Nant Eos*, near Aberystwith.—E. P.

[4] Naturalise.

neere at hand; but afterward*es* choſe other landlord*es* in other places, and as I heare of no great multiplyeinge, ſo are they not alltogether deſtroyed, but ſome fewe are yet to be found in ſome places of the ſhire, thoughe but thinne,

Having mingled together the wantes of the Countrie w^th^ the inconveniences of the ſame, I cannot overpaſſe a great and enormiouſe inconvenience w^ch^ I had allmoſt forgotten w^ch^ is the multiplicitie of ſheepe mark*es* vſed and kept by one owner in one cotte or fold, w^ch^ *prima facie* may ſeeme as a thinge of noe importance; but being thoroughelie weyed is of noe ſmall moment, for by this meane, the riche over reacheth the poore; the thiefe (lawfullie as he thinketh) ſtealeth from the true man, the mightie man opp*re*ſſeth the meane, and all this is, and may be done w^th^out danger of lawe, & w^th^out redreſſe of the wronge, and therefore lett me crave pacience to ſpeake a litle thereof as brieffelie as I maye./

Multiplicitye of ſheep markes.

The vſe of the Countrie is to turne ſheepe to goe at libertie all the wynter w^th^out guiding or heardinge of them, ſo that all the neighbo*ur*s ſheepe are mingled together, in w^ch^ ſorte they contynue till Aprill or Maye, that everye man gathereth ſo manie of his ſheepe together, as he can finde, and bringeth them to his fould, w^ch^ then he ſetteth forth: The evyll minded man will haue in his cotte viij. x. xij or more mark*es*, vnder collo*ur* of w^ch^ he will ſend his people imediately after *S^t^ Dauids* daye to looke for his ſheepe vp and downe the Countrie, vj or viij miles round about him, and looke how manye ſheepe he findeth on anie of his M^rs^[1] xij m*ar*k*es* he bringeth them home: Whoſe ſoever they be yt forceth not,[2] ſo they be. on ſome of his m*ar*k*es*: Nay lett them differre ſomewhat from all his mark*es*, yet they are his owne, and he will colour that by ſayeing, yt was a ſheepe he bought in the faire, and could not gett his full marke vpon the ſame; And if he be taken w^th^ this, why ſaieth he, yt is noe felonye, for he tooke yt to be his ſheepe, and verielie beleeved ſo, and if the treewe owner have any to prove the ſheepe to be his lett him and take it and ſo if the true owner followe not his ſheepe verie ſpeedielie, and be not onely earneſt, but eger[3] in demaundinge, his ſheepe is loſt, and ſo *ſi ſpie, ſport, ſi non ſpie tunc ſteale.*[4] Yt ys not a fewe hundreds of ſheepe that are

[1] Master's.

[2] It is no matter. See Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost*, v, 2.

[3] Sharp, sour (from Fr. *aigre*). The word survives in vin*egar*. It is still in use locally, the first *e* being pronounced short. See *Hamlet*, Act 1, Scenes 4 and 5.

[4] I leave the solution of this 'to recreat the reader's spirittes'.

yearely ſtollen in this Countrey by this Collour of eare*markes*, in ſo much the enormitie growinge ſo great, that vpon complainte made to the Counſell of the marches[1] in Anno 35 Rine[2] *Elizabethe very* good & †profitable orders were deviſed for redreſſe of this miſchiefe, and for ſuppreſſinge of other felonyes in *Wales*, and ſent incloſed to the *Sheriffe* and *Justices* of the peace of this ſheere to be put in execuc*i*on, w^ch^ at the firſt being hotelie,[3] and heedfullie looked vnto, did much good, but as all good inventions in proces of tyme, receive either corruption or growe faſtidiouſe,[4] ſo theſe good orders are nowe allmoſt forgotten, but vtterlie neglected.[5] Fo. 72b, anc. 69b.

Thus havinge beene to tediouſe in this chapter, yet not ſo tediouſe as the enormities themſelves are to our poore Countrey, I will onely recount, & ſhutte vp this ſpeach, w^th^ the onelie nameinge of one more w^ch^ is the diu*er*ſitie of weights and meaſures vſed in this one ſheire, as of the acre of land, the buſhell, the gallon, the ſtone and ſuch like, which breedeth no ſmall incon-venienc*es* in the comon wealth, the w^ch^ is allreadie ſufficientlie p*ro*-vided for, by good lawes, if our evill cuſtome wold ſuffer vs to con-forme ourſelves therevnto.

[1] The petition to the Council of the Marches (drawn up by the author) and the Commission thereon, are given in *The Taylor's Cushion*.

[2] *Reginæ*.

[3] Earnestly.

[4] Irksome. See Elyot's *Governour* (Croft's ed.) I, 50 and 235, and compare the modern sense of the French *fastidieux*.

[5] Lewis (*Camb. Reg.*, ii, 166) says that in his date the ear-marks on sheep were well defined, each family having its hereditary mark duly registered in the Leet.

Fo. 73a, anc. 70a.

Of the *adminiſtration of lawe & Justice wthin the Countie of* Penbrok, *aſwell by the Comon lawe of this realme, as allſo for cauſes Maritime, and appertayninge to the Admiraltye of* England, *together wth government cyvill & Eccleſiaſticall practized and vſed by lawes Cyvill and Canon, by the Archbiſhop, & buſhopp of the Dioceſſe, and how and where this ſhire doeth participate therein wth other Countries of the Realme in generall, & where in particular wthin yt ſelfe, and laſtelie of the governement martiale & militarïe there, vnder the governement of the Lord Lieuetenante.* Ca: xxj.

In ſpeakinge of the governem*en*t, and Adminiſtrac*i*on of Justice nowe vſed, I will heare ſomewhat touche how the Comon lawes of this realme were manie hundred yeares paſt practized and vſed wholely in this Countrey, in more lardge and fuller ſorte, then nowe yt ys, by force of the ſtatutes made for the ordynance of *Wales* in the 27 & 34 yeares of *H.* 8. ffor whereas yt was the meaninge of the Kinge and Parliam*en*t to reduce all the Countrey of *Wales* to one vniforme governem*en*t, and to be governed by one gen*er*all lawe, and that as neere as might be to the lawes then vſed wthin the Realme of *England:* yet is not the Comon lawes of *England* practized in ſo francke and free a courſe in *Penbrokshire*, as the ſame was before the ſaied ſtatutes, for that for manie thinges, wee are in gen*er*all word*es* included wth other partes of *Wales*, wch before that tyme was not ſhire ground, and referred for originall writtes, proces, pleading*es* and ſome other matters to the forme vſed in the three[1] ſhires of *Northwales*, wch parte of *Wales* was reduced into ſhires the xijth yeare of King *Ed.* the firſt, who in the xjth yeare of his raigne ſlewe *Llewelin ap*

[1] Those of Anglesey, Carnarvon, and Merioneth, which made up the old Principality (see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 215).

Gruffith, the laſt prince of *Wales* of the Britiſhe lyne, and tooke the Principallitie of *Wales* into his poſſeſſion, and in the 12. yeare of his raigne made the ſtatute of *Ruthlan*, called *Statuta Walliæ*, whereby he devideth that part of *Wales* w^ch^ was in the poſſeſſion of the ſaied prince *Llewelin* at his death into ſheeres, after the maner of *England*, and ordayned officers therein as in the *ſhires* of *England;* as *Shiriffes*, *Bayliffes*, *Coroners* &c & ordayned the comon lawe of *England* to be practized there in ſuch ſort as ys laied downe by the ſaied ſtatute, w^ch^ cold not be then induced[1] in ſo full maner as yt was vſed thoroughe out the Realme; but was forced to conforme his ordinances apliable[2] to the then ſtate of the Countrye, and as the nature and condic*i*on of the people might beſt endure yt, and ſo yt contynued until the 27 †of *H.* 8· but long before the tyme of the ſaied king *Ed.* 1. *Penbrokshire* had bene ſubdued by *Strongbowe* our firſt Earle viz. in the time of *King henry the firſt* ſurnamed *bewclerke*, and by him made a *Countie*,[3] and the lawes of *England* fullie and abſolutelie brought by him, and ſo practized and vſed there w^th^out anie alterac*i*on or diminuc*i*on thereof, and ſo yt contynued vntill the ſaied 27 of *h.* 8. when all the reſt of *Wales* was made ſhire ground, where in manie thing*es* wee of *Penbrokshire* for conformitie to be had in governeme*n*t thoroughe out wales were referred in manie pointes to the vſes, and cuſtomes of the three ſhires of *Northwales*, ſo that to bring our neighbour ſheeres more Engliſhe, wee were forced to become more *Welſhe*, & truelie this hath bredd, and ſtill doeth ſofter inconveniences to vs of *Penbrokshire* in the Adminiſtrac*i*on of lawes fitter to be concealed, then opened in this place /

Prince llywelins parte of Wales deuided into Sheres.

Fo. 73b, anc. 70b.

Engliſhe lawes practiſed in Pembrokſhere longe before the ordinaunce of Wales.

But to come to my purpoſe, wee haue now the ſelfe ſame lawes practized in *Penbrokshire*, as ys vſed in the xij ſhires of Wales by

[1] Introduced.

[2] Appliable, the old form of *applicable.*

[3] The original county of Pembroke seems to have corresponded roughly with the modern hundred of Castlemartin, which is made up of two of the three commotes of which the ancient cantred of Penfro (equivalent to the more modern *Deanery* of Pembroke, *alias* Castlemartin) consisted, namely, those of Penfro and Maenor Byr (Manorbeer). See p. 49; note 2, p. 48; and p. 46 (text and note), above. And see Professor Tout's remarks in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 208; from which, however, it might perhaps be gathered that 'the ancient rural deanery of Pembroke' and 'the hundred of Castlemartin' were one and the same area. The Anglo-Norman poem on the Conquest of Ireland (line 2,497, ed. Michel), attributed erroneously to Regan, speaks, under the year 1171, of Pembrokeshire by name:

'Tant cum li reis unt sur la mer
A Penbrocscire pur passer.'

the ſaied ſtatutes of H. 8. w^ch^ in effect is the Comon lawes of *England*, ſavinge in ſome fewe pointes; where yt differeth aſwell by the ſaied referrem*ent*[1] to the Cuſtomes of *Northwales;* as in ſome alterac*i*ons by theſe two ſtatutes of king *H.* 8.

And firſt in gen*er*all wee taſte w^th^ the reſt of the Realme of *England* of the rule & governem*en*t of the highe Court of *Parliament;* and haue by the ſaied ſtatutes of *H.* 8. place and voice in *Parliament* as other ſhires of *England*, differinge onely in this, that wee ſend but one knight for everie ſhire, & one burgeſſe for all the boroughes of the ſhire, whereas everie ſhire in *England* haue ij knightes, and everie ancient boroughe two burgeſſes, and the ſtate and povertie of our 4 cytties in *Wales*, as ſeameth being then well knowne to the Kinge and Counſell, they ſend noe cyttizens to the *Parliament*, this ffreedome, wee nowe haue, w^ch^ was not p*er*mitted to *Welſhemen* before, neither were wee ſubiecte to the ſtatutes of *England* before, nor paied ſubſidies to the kinges of *England* w^th^ the ſubiectes of the Realme, w^ch^ ſithence wee are & doe paie,

No Citizens of the Parliament out of Wales.

when Wales firſt became ſubiect to Engliſh lawes & paid ſubſidies.

Wee are allſo ſithence the ſaied ſtatutes, & ordinance for *Wales* growne subiecte to the authoritie of the Coortes of *starrechamber*,[2] *Chancery*. and *Coorte of requestes*[3] at *Westminster*, by what meanes I knowe not, *quia non sic fuit ab initio*, neither ys there anie words in thoſe ſtatutes to that effecte:

Wales ſubiect to diuers wryttes in Weſtminſter.

Wee are allſo forced to be ſubiecte to the Coorte of *Exchequer* at *Westminster*, wherein yt is thought of ſome, that the ſubiectes of *Wales* are much wronged, and the prince nothinge furthered, but rather hindered, ffor by theſe ſtatutes there is an *Exchequer* †Erected in everie iij ſhires of *Wales:* and officers appointed for the kinges receiptes, & adwarding furth of proces againſt all farmours,[4] accomptantes,[5] & debtors of the kinges to appeere before them in their exchequ*er* where the kinges debtes out of *Wales* is better anſwered & paied then at *Westminster*, and yet

Fo. 74a, anc. 71a.

[1] Reference.

[2] The Star Chamber, like the Court of Chancery and the Court of Requests, was an offshoot of the King's Council, and had jurisdiction in cases of oppression, gross fraud, and other exorbitant offences of great men, who could not be proceeded against in the ordinary tribunals. It was abolished by 16 Car. I, c. 10.

[3] This was the poor man's Court of Equity, presided over by the Lord Privy Seal and the Masters of the Requests, who exercised similar functions to those of the Masters in Chancery. It was virtually abolished in 41 Eliz. by a decision of the Court of Queen's Bench.

[4] Lessees of taxes. [5] Those who had to render accounts.

is there yearelie proces ſent downe from *Westminster* into euerye ſhire in *Wales*, ſo that th'exchequers here erected for the eaſe of the ſubiectes of *Wales*, are placed onelie ſo named but not practized.

Allſo the *Courte* of *Wardes* and *liveries* at *Westmr* doeth allſo call all Wardes in *Wales* to ſue forth their lyveries[1] there, and to ſue forth Comiſſions *post mortem*, and all inquiſicions are retorned into the *Chancery* at *Westmr* where as in all kinges tymes before the ſaied ſtatute & long after wee of *Penbrokshire* did all theis thinges at home in th'exchequer of *Penbroke*, w^ch^ if yt were yet ſo vſed were more eaſe for the ſubiectes, and wold prove farre more beneficiall for the prince, as I can make evident by playne prooffe, & yet are there noe wordes in the ſaied ſtatutes to force vs to this matter onely vſe ys yt, that hath induced all this. /

Wee are allſo subiecte to the Courtes of *Kings bench* and *Comon pleas.* in ſome ſpeciall matter of debt, and for ſtatutes and recognizances,[2] but not in anie other matters,

We are allſo governed by the Lord Preſident and Counſaill of the *Marches*,[3] as all the xiij[4] ſhires of *Wales are*, and the iiij[5] ſhires of the *marches;* w^ch^ Lo. Preſident & Counſell hath the authoritie of the *Starre Chamber* and *Chauncerye*, w^ch^ coort in ſome thinges yealdeth great eaſe, and benefitte to the Subiectes of *Wales:* allthoughe in ſome other thinges they feele griefe.

But to come neere home, all pleas of the *Crowne* as Apeales, indictementes of murder, robberie, rape, felonies & treſpaſſes &c. pleas reall & mixt for landes are and muſt be ſued at home in the ſhire, neither hath the courtes of *Westmr* anie authoritie in anie of theſe matters, but all muſt be begoonne, pleaded, and tried w^th^in the ſhire (errors onely excepted) w^ch^ in Reall & mixte causes the kinges benche, in perſonall the Counſaill of the marches hath to determyne, Allſo all other actions perſonall and mixte

Counſell of the marches.

[1] Delivery of their lands out of their guardians' hands. The court was abolished with military tenures by 12 Car. II, cap. 24.

[2] Statutes merchant and staple; old forms of bonds of record. Recognisances were bonds to the Crown. See *Hamlet*, v, 1.

[3] 'The Court before the President and Council in the Marches of Wales' was abolished by 1 William and Mary, cap. 27. It had become before that time merely administrative. It was appointed by royal warrant since the reign of Edward IV, and by statute in 1542.

[4] Monmouthshire, which was recognised by 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 26, as part of the Dominion of Wales, was by that statute made subject to the Courts at Westminster just as the rest of Wales was by 11 Geo. IV, and 1 William IV, cap. 70, which abolished the Court of Great Sessions.

[5] Salop, Hereford, Gloucester, and Worcester.

are and muſt be ſued at home in the great ſeſſions, and there to be tried w^th^out apeale or removinge to anie higher corte, which is the greateſt benefitte, that wee of *Wales* enioye above all other the subiectes of this Realme, to haue lawe and Juſtice ſent home to our houſes, and powred into our boſomes, where as manie other partes of this Realme haue yt as the proverbe ys, ffarre fett,[1] and deere bought.

Wee haue allſo *Sheriffes* yearelie of our owne Countryemen, who execute all the Judgem*entes*, and Preceptes of the lawe, w^ch
Fo. 74b, anc. 71b. ſhirieffe †ys allſo ordained and erected by the ſaied ſtatutes of king *H. 8.* to be yearelie changed and choſen by the kinge himſelfe & his Counſell, whereas before yt was ſhire ground, wee had a Shirieffe w^ch vſed the office by patent for tearme of life, and for the better memoriall of ſuch gentlemen as haue borne that office ſithence yt came to be ſheere ground, I will heere inſert a catalogue of the names of all thoſe that haue been *Shirieffes* in *Penbrokshire*, ſithence the ſaied ſtatute of ſheere ground, and place them in order as they ſucceeded.

The names *of all the Shirieffes of* Penbrokſhire *ſithence* Wales *came to be ſheere ground.*

Anno Dni Regis — *Henrici Octaui*, qui cepit regnare, 22 April 1509.

32 Thomas Johnes de Haroldſton Ar[2]
33 Joh*an*nes Phillips de Picton Ar
34 Joh*an*nes Wogan de Wiſton Ar
35 Joh*an*nes Vaughan de Moncton Ar
36 Owen ap Owen de Pentre Jeu*an*[3] Ar
37 Johannes Sutton de Hau*er*fordweſt Ar
38 Morganus Johnes de Milton Ar

[1] Fetched. See *Faerie Queene*, ix, 58.
[2] *Armiger*, 'esquire'. [3] Pentre Evan.

Edward. 6. rex cepit regnare 28 Ja. 1546[1]

1 Henricus Wyriott de Orielton Ar
2 Thomas Johnes de Haroldſton miles[2]
3 Joh*an*nes Vaughan de Moncton miles
4 Joh*an*nes Perrott de Scotteſborough*e*[3] Ar
5 Joh*an*nes Perrott de Haroldſton miles
6 Joh*an*nes Bowen de Trelloyne[4] Ar.

Maria R. cœpit regnare 6 Julij. 1553

1 Johannes Wogan de Wiſton miles
2 Joh*an*nes Vaughan de Moncton miles
3 Jacobus Williams de Lloyngwathan[5] miles
4 Will*el*mus Rice de Sandy havon Ar
5 Arnold Butler de Johnſton Ar.

†*Elizabeth R. cepit regnare 17 No: 1558* Fo. 75a, anc. 72a.

1 Henricus Wyrriott de Orielton. Ar
2 Johannes Bowen de Trelloin[4] Ar
3 Griffith white de Henllan Ar
4 Johannes Barlo de Slebech Ar
5 Will*el*m*us* Phillipps de Picton Ar
6 Rees ap Owen de Vpton Ar
7 Thomas Catharne[6] de Prend*er*gaſt Ar
8 Johannes Wogan de Bulſton· Ar
9 Johannes Wogan de Wiſton· Ar
10 ffraunces Laugharne de *S^t Brides* Ar
11 Thomas Bowen de Pentre Jeu*an* Ar
12 Griffith White de Henllan Ar
13 Joh*an*nes Bradſhawe de S^t Dogmells Ar
14 Joh*an*nes Wogan de Wiſton Ar
15 Albanus Stepneth Ar
16 Joh*an*nes Wogan de Bulſton, Ar
17 Joh*an*nes Barlo de Slebech Ar
18 Morganus Phillippes de Picton Ar

[1] 1547, New Style. The year began on the 25th March until the 24th Geo. II, cap. 23. [2] Knight. [3] Near Tenby.

[4] Trefloyne, near Penally. This place is very probably the '*Luin* Teliau, *villa* tantum' of *Lib. Land.*, 117 (cf. 244). If so, the full name of Trefloyne will have been *Tref Llwyn Teilo.* St. Teilo possessed 'hereditarium jus' at Penally (anciently Pen Alun ; see p. 106, note 8, above), in the church of which his ancestors were buried. (*Lib. Land.*, pp. 109-110.)

[5] See note 1, p. 69, above.

[6] *I.e.*, Cadarn ; spelt *Caderne* on p. 51 above.

19 Georgius Wyryott de Orielton Ar
20 ffraunces Laugharne de S^t^ Brides Ar
21 Thomas Revell de foresta Kilgarran[1] Ar
22 Georgius Devereux de Lanphey[2] Ar
23 Griffith White de Henllan Ar
24 Johannes ap Rees de Rickerdſton[3] Ar
25 Hugo Owen de Orielton Ar
26 Joh*an*nes Wogan de Boulſton Ar
27 Joh*an*nes Elliott de Narberth Ar
28 Rolandus Laugharne de S^t^ Brides Ar
29 Georgius Owen de Henllis Ar
30 Henricus Adames de Paterchurch[4] Ar
31 Thomas Johnes de Harmeſton Ar
32 Albanus Stepneth[5] de Prend*er*gaſt Ar
33 Edmundus Wynſtanley de S^t^ Dogmells Ar
Fo. 75b, anc. 72b. †34 Henricus White de Aleſton Ar
35 Joh*an*nes ap Rees de Richardſton Ar
36 Water Vaughan de S^t^ Brides Ar
37 Joh*an*nes Phillipps de Picton Ar
38 Thomas Lloyd de Kilykeithed[6] Ar
39 Thomas Parry de S^t^ Dogmells Ar
40 Johannes Wogan de Bulſton miles
41 Hugo Butler de Johnſton Ar
42 Johannes Scurfield de Newmoate Ar
43 Devereux Barrett de Tenby Ar
44 Georgius Owen de Henllys Ar
45 Thomas Bowen de Trelloyn Ar

Jacobus Rex Angliæ cepit regnare 24 Martij 1602[7]

Wee haue allſo by the ſaied ſtatutes[8] of H. 8. Juſtices of the peace of gentlemen of the ſhire, w^ch^ are appointed by the *Lo: Chancelour* or *Lo: Keeper* by the advice of the Lord Preſident and Counſaill and Juſtices of Aſſize of *Wales*, and they haue their Comiſſions vnder the great ſeale of *England*, of theſe were none[9] in

[1] See p. 86 above, and note 1, p. 163 below.
[2] See note 7, p. 106 above.
[3] Rickaston, in Brawdy parish.
[4] Now called *Pater* (Pembroke Dockyard).
[5] This name is now *Stepney*. He married as his first wife the heiress of Thomas Catharn of Prendergast (see last page).
[6] See note 2, p. 87 above.
[7] 1603, New Style. See note 1, p. 157.
[8] 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 5.
[9] In *The Taylor's Cushion* the author states that it appeared by a charter of Haverford that justices of the peace were there *ab antiquo*, as in no part of Wales.

Wales before the ſtatutes of H. 8 but are onely ordayned & erected by the ſame ; ffor before that tyme ſecuritie of the peace was hadd before the Stewards of Lordſhips' Royall, either by precept, or by write to the Shirieffe ; Theis Juſtic*es* keepe Seſſions of the peace quarterlie, and doe appointe conſtables of hundreds, as ys vſed in *England*, and in all thinges exerciſe their office as Juſtices of the peace doe in *England ;* The nomber of theſe juſtices of the peace are more or leſſe as pleaſeth the *Lo. Keeper*, or *Lo. Chancellor* to alter or appointe, but the nomber nowe inhabitinge w^th^in the ſhire are xix^en^, beſide the 9 firſt who are chiefe officers of ſtate, or ells of the Counſaill of the marches, and of courſe put in every Comiſſion, being appointed by the laſt Comiſſion dated the xiij^th^ daie of Aprill Anno R*eg*ni Reg*is* Jacobi primo whoſe names I thought good to inſert heere, as I dyd before of the Shirieffes

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Juſtices *of the peace w^th^in the County of* Penbrok *by commiſſion dated* 13° *Apr*il, *Anno Regis Jacobi primo.*

quorum[1]	Thomas Egerton[2] miles custos magni Sigilli Angl*ie*		
q	Thomas D*omin*us Buckhurſt Thes*aurarius* Angl*ie*		
q	Edwardus d*omin*us Zouch d*omin*us Preſidens Wallie		
q	Anthonius[3] *Episco*pus Menevens*is*		
†q	Richardus Lewekener miles Justic*iarius* Cestr*ie*		Fo. 76a, anc. 73a.
q	Richardus Atkyns Will*el*m*us* Oldiſworth	Juſtic*iarii* Magne Seſſ*ionis* Com*itatus* Penbrok	
q	Will*el*m*us* Leighton Ar		
q	Henricus Townſhend Ar		
q	Georgius Owen Ar		
q	Jacobus Perrott Ar cuſt*os* Rotulor*um*[4]		

[1] This is short for *Quorum A. B. unum esse volumus.* Formerly only a select number of justices were of the quorum, the presence of one of whom was necessary for judicial business.

[2] Afterwards Lord Chancellor Ellesmere. [3] Anthony Rudd.

[4] The office of Keeper of the Records (the principal civil officer of the county) is much more ancient than that of lord-lieutenant (the principal military officer),

q Johannes Wogan Ar
Wille*l*mu*s* Wogan Ar
q Joh*an*nes Phillips Ar
q Albanus Stepneth Ar
Wille*l*mu*s* Bradſhawe Ar
Thomas Lloyd Ar
q Thomas Johnes de Armeſton[1] Ar
Henricus Adames Ar
Edmundos Wynſtanley Ar
q Hugo Butler Ar
Joh*an*nes Owen phẽs[2] Ar
Wille*l*mu*s* Warren Ar
q Thomas Canon[3] Ar
Henricus White Ar
Devereux Barrett Ar
Nicholaus Adams Ar et
Thomas Price Ar

Countey courte. The Shirieffe hath allſo a Countie Court erected to be kept monethlye for matters determinable in the ſame./ [4]

Coroners. There are allso two coroners in everye ſhire in *Wales* choſen by the Comons of the ſhire by the kinges write obtayned furth vnder the great ſeale, and alſo an Eſcheatour[5] yearelie choſen, whoſe patent ys allſo vnder the great ſeale; theſe two laſt officers were †allſo heere in *Penbrokſhire* before yt was ſhire ground, but then they held

Escheator.

Fo. 76b, anc. 73b.

who after the Restoration replaced the commissioners of array as the principal military officer of the county. The clerk of the peace, who in practice kept the records, was appointed by the *Custos Rotulorum*. The first appointment of a lord-lieutenant in England was made in 1550, in consequence of disturbances arising out of the Reformation. (See note 5, page 41 above.) There was only one lord-lieutenant for all Wales, instead of one for each county, up to 1694, when one was appointed for N. Wales and another for S. Wales. Subsequently one for each county was appointed.

[1] Harmaston, in Steynton parish. See above, p. 158 (No. 31).

[2] Phillips. The Welsh contractions *Phe'* and *Phe's* are evidently taken from the forms *Phelip* and *Phelips*, the latter of which is still preserved in the family name of the Phelips' of Montacute in Somerset, who are said to have emigrated into Somersetshire from Wales in or before the fifteenth century, and their branches. Is the name *Phelps* of the same origin?

[3] Of Kilgetty. Afterwards Sir Thomas Canon, the antiquary.

[4] Pleas of debt or damages under 40*s*. and personal actions remitted from the courts at Westminster, also pleas of some real actions.

[5] 'An ancient officer so called because his office is properly to look to escheats, wardships, and other casualties belonging to the Crown.' (*Coke upon Littleton*, 13b.)

their offices for life, as I ſaied before of the Shirieffe: Pettie Conſtables are allſo in everye pariſhe or lymitte, as the ſame ys knowne by Ancient custome, w^ch^ is an Ancient officer from the begynninge, and not erected, nor ſpoken of in the newe ſtatutes of H. 8. *Pettie conſtable*

The ſhire is allſo devided into diu*er*ſe L*ordſhi*ps or Segnioryes, ſome lardge, ſome leſſer,[1] in w^ch^ are Court Barons holden *de xv^a^ in xv^am^*[2] for triall of ſmall matters, and a leete Court twice eu*er*ye yeare for puniſhem*en*t of comon enormities. *Courte Baron and leete.*

The townes allſo being Corporations, haue reſpectivelie Coortes of Record for triall of p*er*ſonall actions of what forme ſoever, before the chiefe officers there, and out of all theis Courtes in the Countrye before named all matters are removeable to the ſaied great ſeſſions and not els where by write of *Corpus cum cauſa*, *certiorari*, *recordari*, *falſe Judgement or error*, as the caſe requireth, and this in Effecte is the ſubſtance of all the temporall governement as theſame ys vſed in *Penbrokshire* at this daye,

Next vnto the temporall governem*en*t vſed as afore ys ſaied for the p*re*ſervinge of the life, lands, and goods of the people, cometh in Courſe to ſpeake of the lawe maritime, and cyvill vſed w^th^in the ſaied Countie: w^ch^ cauſes cyvill & marytime conſiſte of two kindes, that is of Cauſes Criminall and Cyvill.[3] *Admirall cauſes.*

Of Cauſes Criminall as treaſons, felonies, Robberies, murders, manſlaughters, confederacies, ſpoiles, Piracies, conſpiracies, oppreſ-

[1] The chief Lordships were thirteen in number. See the author's *Description of Wales*, in the Appendix, under the heading 'Penbrokshire'.

[2] *De quindenâ* (the French *quinzaine*) *in quindenam*, *i.e.*, every fortnight. The court baron was the court of the freeholders of the manor. Its most important business was the decision of controversies as to the right to lands, and regulations as to the use of the common fields. The customary court for the admission of copyholders was also called a court baron. The court leet was a king's court, for the view of frankpledge (*i.e.*, the return of the freemen), the presentment of crimes, and the punishment of misdemeanours. See notes 2 and 3, p. 52, above.

[3] The Court of Admiralty followed the rules of the civil, instead of the common, law; but by 28 Henry VIII, cap. 15, it was provided that prisoners in that court should be tried by jury according to the law of the land, by commission under the Great Seal directed to the Admiral or his deputy, and to three or four other substantial persons, as the Lord Chancellor should appoint. Commissions under this statute continued to be issued at intervals until the 7 and 8 Vict., cap. 2, made them no longer necessary, and transferred the trial of such offences to the ordinary tribunals. The civil jurisdiction, as modified by recent legislation, still survives. The criminal jurisdiction above mentioned was for the more important offences; smaller matters were dealt with by the Court of Enquiry, mentioned on pp. 163-4, below.

ſions, depredac*i*ons, and all other offences done or Comitted w^th^in the Juriſdiction of the Kinges Admiraltie of England, that is of all thoſe & the like offences done in or vpon the mayne ſea, or any Creeke, arme or branche of theſame or w^th^in the full ſea m*ar*ke, and beneath or betweene the firſt bridge, and the ſea, and for the hearinge and determininge of theſe, and the like offences, as allſo for anie offence done againſt moſt of the penall ſtatutes of this Realme, and for obſervation of the peace w^th^in the Admiralls juriſdiction aforeſaied, there are eſpeciall juſtices of *Oyer* and *terminer*[1] made by the prince by Comiſſion vnder the great ſeale of England and are made thereby, *Justices of Oyer and terminer, Justices of gaole*
Fo. 77a, anc. 74a. *deliuery, and of the peace w^th^in the Juriſdiction* †*of the Admiraltie*, who by force thereof keepe Seſſions of oyer & terminer, and of gaole delyverie, and there are all the ſaied offences hard, tryed & adiudged according to the Courſe of the Comon lawes of this Realme, & of the lawes cyvill and marytime, and according to the lawes of the Admiraltie of *England*, and for the ſpeedie triall of priſoners, and deliu*er*ye of the gaole for theſe offences, a Comiſſion allwayes is extant in the Countrey, and as before I haue done for Shirieffes & Juſtices of the peace, I will laye downe the names of Juſtices of oyer and terminer for maryne cauſes w^th^in the *Counties of Penbrok, Carmarthen & Cardigan* by Comiſſion dated 27 May, Anno R*eg*ni R*eg*ine Elizabeth xl^mo^ [2]

The Names *of the Juſtices of oyer and terminer, and of the peace for Marine cauſes w^th^in the Counties of* Penbrok· Carmarthen and Cardigan.

q. Charles Earle of Nottingham, Lord highe Admirall of England

q. Henrie Earle of Penbroke, Lo: Preſident of *Wales* & vice-ad*mira*ll in Southwales.

q. Julius Cæſar[3] doctor of lawes Judge of the highe Coorte of the Admiraltye of England

[1] To *hear* and *determine* criminal cases. [2] 1598.
[3] Afterwards Master of the Rolls.

q. Sr Thomas Johnes knight
q. Sr. John Wogan knight
q. Dauid Williams Sergeant at Lawe
q. ffraunces Bevan doctor of lawes, Judge of the Admiraltie in the Countie of Pembroke.
q. George Owen Eſqr deputie viceadmirall in the ſaied Counties
q. Phillip Johnes Batchellour of lawes
John Phillips Eſquier.
ffraunces Meyricke Esqr
Thomas Revell[1] Eſquier
Alban Stepneth Eſquier
James Ruđđz[2] Eſquier
Maior of the towne of Tenby for the time beinge,
Hughe Butler Eſquier
Nicholas Adams Eſquier
q. Richard Grafton Eſquier,
John ap Rees Eſquier
James Reade Eſquier.
Devereux Barrett Eſquier.[3]

†ffor Cauſes Cyvill, there ys a viceadmirall appoynted over all ſouthwales[4] who hath deputies vnder him, who haue Comiſſion to Fo. 77b, anc. 74b.

[1] Of Forest (*Fforest Cilgerran*); the step-son of Dr. Phaer (for whom see chapter xxv, below). See above, p. 158, No. 21.

[2] Rhydderch, sometimes spelt Rhudderch, Rudderch, as in the poem printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, x, 229-231. The family name *Prydderch* (from *ab Rhydderch*) has been Anglicised into *Prothero* or *Protheroe*.

[3] Several of the above names will also be found in the lists of Sheriffs of Pembrokeshire and of Justices of the Peace for that county, given at pp. 156-60, above.

[4] The authority of the Lord High Admiral was delegated to Vice-Admirals or deputies, who were appointed by letters patent from the Crown, given in the Court of Admiralty under the Great Seal. The office of Lord High Admiral, although it was revived for Prince George of Denmark in 1702, the Earl of Pembroke in 1708, and the Duke of Clarence in 1827, has been executed by commissioners since 1673. It was the duty of the Vice-Admiral to inquire what vessels of war and how many fighting mariners the king might have in case of need. He had power of fine and imprisonment to enforce the orders of his courts—the Common Court and the Court of Enquiry. The Common Court was held as occasion required, to take cognizance of all complaints and contracts between merchants, shipowners, and other persons, on matters arising on the sea up to high-water mark, and on tidal rivers up to the first bridge. The Court of Enquiry was held twice a year, to inquire by the oaths of a jury as to the matters mentioned in the text; to which may be added the presentment of royal fish. The sea-coasts of England and Wales were divided into nineteen 'circuits' or vice-admiralties, among which were North Wales and South Wales. The

deale in all cauſes of the Admiraltie, & to determyne all causes cyvill ariſinge betweene partie & partie, and to keepe Courtes for triall thereof as allſo of Enquirie of cauſes Criminall, and for that theſe cauſes Marytime are determinable by the lawes Cyvill, there is allſo aſſigned a Judge of the Admiraltie learned in the Cyvill lawes in theſe partes of Wales, who allſo keepeth Courtes for triall of Cauſes, and beſide there is a Regiſter, & *ſer*ieant of the Admiraltie ſubſtituted for the ſervinge of theis Coortes and officers, w^ch^ Court of the Admiraltie hath to determine all cauſes concerninge the fraightinge of ſhippes or veſſells, all contractes, debtes, accomptes, ſtrifes and treſpaſſes ariſinge or made w^th^in the full ſea marke, or bargaines and contractes made or to be performed beyond the ſeas, and to the Lord Admirall belongeth all traito*ur*s and felons goods or felons of themſelves, & deodands,[1] wrecke, flotzon, jetzon and Lagon,[2] ſhacſeys,[3] and treaſure trove had or found w^th^in the Admiralls Juriſdiction, allſo he is to enquire of Ancorage, laſtage, and balaſt,[4] and laſtelie the Admirall, and his deputies is Coroner w^th^in his Authoritie, and to take inquiſic*i*ons *ſuper viſum Corporis* of perſons drowned, killed, or otherwiſe dyeinge w^th^in the Juriſdiction Admirall: but for that fewe

author's father was Vice-Admiral for South Wales, and the author himself is addressed by George Owen Harry (see the Preface to this work) as Vice-Admiral of the counties of Pembroke and Cardigan (he was probably the Vice-Admiral's deputy for those counties and for the county of Carmarthen). The office seems in later times to have been usually limited to one county. Sir John Owen of Orielton, who died in 1861, was the last Vice-Admiral of Pembrokeshire. Sir Sherston Baker, in his treatise on *The Office of Vice-Admiral of the Coast* (privately printed in 1884), p. 76, states that Lord Mostyn (the late Lord Mostyn, who died in that year), 'Vice-Admiral of North Wales and Carmarthenshire,' was the only Vice-Admiral then left in Wales. The Vice-Admiral appointed his own officers with the exception of the Admiralty Judge, the Registrar (who was, in later times, always a notary public), and the Marshal or Serjeant (who had to execute the precepts and warrants of the court), who were appointed by letters patent. Many cities and boroughs were exempted by charter from the Admiralty jurisdiction; *e.g.*, the office of Vice-Admiral of Haverfordwest was held by the mayor for the time being.

[1] The chattel which caused the death of a man was forfeited to the Crown, to be applied to pious uses, until 9 and 10 Vict., cap. 62.

[2] Flotsam, jetsam, and ligan (also spelt *lagan*), *i.e.*, shipwrecked goods respectively floating, thrown overboard and sunk, or tied to a buoy or cork, so that they might be ultimately recovered.

[3] Estrays; this form is not known to occur elsewhere, but 'shack' was a common word for 'vagabond'. 'Common of shack' in Norfolk is the right for the cattle and pigs to wander over the land after harvest. See Corbet's Case, (Coke's) *Reports*, part vii, p. 5.

[4] That is to say, concerning dues for the privilege of anchoring, loading vessels, and taking in ballast. Cf. the French *lestage*, 'ballasting'.

or noe matters ariſe in this Countrey, conc*er*ninge the Juriſdiction Admirall, there are fewe or noe dealinges practized in that behalffe in the Countrey, and the officers litle or nothinge occupied therein,

Eccleſiaſtical gouernment.

And laſtelie as concerninge Eccleſiaſticall governem*en*t & Juriſdiction this Countie of *Penbroke* ys w^th^in the dioc*es* of *S^t^. Dauids* and province of *Canterbury ;* who execute the Authoritie Eccleſiaſticall over the ſubiectes of this Countie, The Archbuſhop of *Canterburye* hath his primer viſitac*i*on, the firſt yeare of his conſecration, and duringe that yeare receiveth all cyvill cauſes to be determyned before him, and hath procurations[1] of the Clergye ; and hath the like vpon the death of everye Buſhopp w^th^in his province ; The Buſhop allſo hath vnder him officialls or Comiſſaries to execute the lawe cyvill, and Canon at home among the people in eache Archdeaconrie, who heareth and determineth cauſes of tythe Matrimonye, and Teſtamentarie, and of like nature, as allſo cryminallie to puniſhe and correcte inceſt, Adulterie, fornication, hereſies, ſymonie, vſurie, periurie, and ſuch like offences againſt the lawes Cyvill, and Canon, they allſo receive probat of teſtam*entes* and graunt letters of Adminiſtration, and colligend.[2]

Fo. 78a, anc. 75a

†The Countie of *Penbrok* ys for the moſt parte w^th^in the Archdeaconrye of *S^t^ Dauids*, w^ch^ is ſubdevided into *Deanries*, w^ch^ in tymes paſt hadd in eache of them, *Deanes ruralls*,[3] who executed the Authoritye ſpirituall w^th^in their ſeverall *deaneries* by Comiſſion from the buſhop of the Dioces, as I doe finde by diuerſe letters of Adminiſtration, and probations of teſtam*entes* in old tyme ; but this hath beene reduced, and given to one Comiſſarye wholely, who dealeth w^th^ one, and ſometymes two Archdeaconries. The names of the *deanries* in the Countie of *Penbrok*, and Archdeaconrie of *S^t^ Dauids* are theſe that followe,

Deanerye of Pebidiaucke[4]
Deanrye of Dongledye
Deanrye of Rowſe
Deanry of Penbroke.

[1] The cost of 'procuring' of victuals on the primary visitation of the archbishop was borne by the bishop of the diocese. The charge was in later times commuted for a money payment.

[2] To collect and administer the goods of intestates.

[3] The rural dean was an ancient ecclesiastical officer, the deputy of the bishop for the inspection of the conduct of the clergy, reporting on dilapidations, on the examination of candidates for confirmation, and also on the probate of wills and the granting of letters of administration.

[4] Dewisland (see pp. 48-9, above).

And ſome fewe pariſhes of the *Archdeconrie* of *Carmarthen* are in *Penbrokshire*,[1]

Allſo the *deanrie* of *Kemes;* and halfe the *deanrie* of *Emlyn.* viz. *Iskeach*[2] are in *Penbrokeshire*, and in the *Archdeconrie* of *Cardigan*,[3]

Militarie gouerne-ment.

And nowe as concerninge the governem*ent* militarie, the ſame in former tymes was for arminge, muſteringe, & levyeing of men, done as in the reſt of the ſhires of England and Wales, either by Comiſſion, or letters to the Shirieffe, and Juſtices of the peace of the Countye directed from the heigher powers, vntill the xxixth yeare of *Queene Elizabeth;* that all Wales, and the *Marches* was commytted to the governem*en*t of a lord Lieuetenante, and when

[1] Llandewi Velfrey, Lampeter Velfrey (see the beginning of note 2 on p. 45, and note 2 on p. 48, above), and Crinow, are the only parishes *wholly* situate in Pembrokeshire which were included in the Deanery (and thus in the Archdeaconry) of Carmarthen; but the parishes of Llangan, Llandyssilio yn Nyfed (cf. p. 9, above), Castell Dwyran, and Llanfallteg, also included in that Deanery, and situate (see p. 49, above) partly in Pembrokeshire (Hundred of Dungleddy), partly in Carmarthenshire (Hundred of Derllys), are probably also referred to in the text. Browne Willis (*Parochiale Anglicanum*, 1733, p. 187) also mentions a church of 'Llandeilo *Welfrey*' as in the Deanery *and County* of Carmarthen, and states that the benefice was a Rectory in the patronage of Sir John Philips. The church meant must apparently be either that of Castell Dwyran (a chapelry to Cil y Maen Llwyd), which is not a rectory, but is in Carmarthenshire, or that of Crinow, which is a rectory, but is in Pembrokeshire (and was in the author's time in the Hundred of Dungleddy). Neither church is mentioned under its modern name by Browne Willis. In support of the second identification, it should be said that Crinow church is situate not half a mile from Llangwathan (as the place is called now; cf. note 5 on p. 69, above), a name which represents an older *Llwyn Gwaeddan*, whence came the ancient distinctive appellation of a church (which we believe to be *identical* with Crinow church) called in *Lib. Land.*, 244 (cf. 117) '*Lanteliau* Luin Guaidan', and described as 'villa tantum, *in Euelfre*' (*i.e.*, 'in Velfrey'). The small parish of Cirnow is (or was; see Lewis' *Top. Dic. of Wales*, *s. v.*) almost entirely surrounded by the Hundred of Narberth.

The *church* of Castell Dwyran is in Carmarthenshire; the *churches* of Llanfallteg, Llandyssilio, and Llangan, are in Pembrokeshire. Castell Dwyran and Egremont churches are situated in a curious peninsula of Carmarthenshire, jutting out into Pembrokeshire, three miles long, but with a neck only a quarter of a mile broad. The churches of Llandyssilio, Llangan, and Llanfallteg are situate, the first in a large projection, the other two in small projections of Pembrokeshire, jutting out into Carmarthenshire. The parish of Cilrhedyn (in Emlyn) is also divided between the two counties.—E. P.

[2] *I.e.*, *Is Cuch;* cf. note 4 on p. 102, above.

[3] These 6 Deaneries and that of Carmarthen each represent one of the ancient '7 Cantreds of Dyfed'. See the text of and the notes to pp. 45-9, above.

as *Henrye* late Earle of *Penbroke* then Lord Preſident[1] was made allſo Lo: Lieuetenante by her Ma*iestes* letters patent*es*, who for that he could not attend the execution of ſo great a chardge in his owne perſon in ſo manie ſhires ; Yt pleaſed her Ma*ies*tie by her letters to authorize the ſaied Earle of *Penbrok* to make choice of certaine principall gentlemen in everye Countie to be his deputies to exerciſe the ſaied office of Lieuetenancie in his abſence, Where-vpon the ſaied Earle by Comiſſion vnder his Lordſhips ſeale of Armes, Dated the ix^th^ of Aprill Anno *Elizabethe* xxix° did nominate and appointe *S^r^ Thomas Perrott Knight*, and *George Owen Eſquier* to be his deputies w^th^in the Countie of *Penbroke*, and all priviledged places w^th^in theſame Countie, Joyninge w^th^ them the Mayor of the towne, and Countie of Haverfordweſt for the tyme beinge, whome he allſo made his deputie w^th^ them w^th^in theſaied towne and county of *Hauerfordweſt* onely[2] †Vnto theſe deputie Lieue- Fo. 78b, anc. 75b.

[1] From 1586 to his death in 1601.

[2] Here is intercalated in the *Cambrian Register* (ii, 176 ; which reads 'in' for the 'within' of the preceding line) a long passage, which (after a comma at 'onely') proceeds as follows : 'and gave them, his sayd deputies, his absolute power to execute all things in his absens, who, thereupon, according to instructions from her majestie, viewed the forces and people of the countrey, and reduced the number of 500 into trayned bands, under seven captaines, which were trayned and instructed in feats of warre, and use of theire weapons for the defence of the realme, by a muster-master chosen for his skill, for that purpose ; which number of 500 trayned men, although the same exceeded the abilitie of the shire, being but smalle, poore, [col. 2] and weak of manred, yet were they forced soe to doe for theire owne defence, being a county most subject to invasion, by reason of Milford Haven, for in the year following, being 1588 [misprinted "1688"], the Spaniards then having vomited their malice, to the view of all men, the country men of themselves entering into consideration of the imminent perill they were subject unto, were forced to their great charge, and impoverishment, to augment the number of their trayned bands. And for that afterwards, question arose, whether her majesties letters, under her signett, were sufficient warrant to the sayd Earls of Penbroke to appointe deputies, it pleased her majestie by advise of her councell, to renewe the sayd Earles comission of lieutenancy, under the great seal of England, dated 2^d^ Decembris, An^o^ regni sui 30, and therein to give him auctoritie to name those gentlemen by name, whom he before had appointed, and soe the sayd Sir Thomas Perrott, and George Owen, were by her majesties letters patents aforesayd, appointed deputy lieutenantes of the sayd countie of Penbrok, which deputie lieutenants continued theire place till the troubles of Sir John Perrott, when, by meanes of Sir Christopher Hatton, An^o^ Eliz. 32, 1590, Sir [p. 177, col. 1] Edward Stradling, Sir William Herbert, Kn^ts^ Thomas Mansell, and Richard Bassett, Esq^rs^ of Glamorganshire, were appointed deputie lieutenants of this countie, who soe continued untill the 25^th^ of October, An^o^ Regni Reginæ Eliz. 37°, that Sir John Wogan, Kn^t^ George Owen, Thos. Revell,

tenantes[1] was the care, and chardge of all matters martiall, and militarie comytted, who according to the vttermoſt abillitie of the Countrey, and people take care[2] therein, havinge allſo a well practized gentleman appointed for muſter m*aster* of the ſame Countie to inſtructe the trayned band*es* in Martiall diſciplyne, who hath his paye of xxx$^{li.}$ p*er* annum of the Countrey,[3]

There are allſo two comon ſtorehouſes of Armor, powder, and ſhotte carefullie looked vnto, and attended by two ſeverall ſtipendarie Armorers paied allſo by the Countrie, all w^{ch} as one vnited bodie ioyne in care, and readynes for defence of their Countrie, and ſervice, when occaſion ſhall require to the vttermoſt, and ſomewhat beyonde their power, and abillities, being more forward in harte, then[4] able in purſe, wiſhinge that their neighbours, by whome in perill, they muſt be ſeconded, wold example themſelves herein by this poore and litle ſheere /

and Francis Meyrick, Esq^{rs} were appointed deputie lieutenants, under the great seale, within the sayd countie, under the sayd Earle, who so continued untill the 19th day of January, 1600, that the sayd Earle of Penbrok died, by whose death theire auctorities ceased; after whose death Edward Lord Zouche was made lord president of the counsell of the Marches, and had commission to be lord lieutenant of Wales, dated 20th Julii, An^{o} Reginæ Eliz. 44^{o} and then were appointed deputy lieutenants of this countie, William Wogan, George Owen, and Alban Stepneth, Esq^{rs}.' This passage is not in Harleian MS. 6250.

[1] For 'deputie Lieuetenantes' the *Camb. Reg.* text has 'deputies'.

[2] Are careful. For 'take' the *Camb. Reg.* as 'tooke'.

[3] As to the important duties in connection with the militia formerly performed by the deputy lieutenant, see Grose's *History of the English Army*, i, 30.

[4] Than.

Of the *vſe order and forme of conveyance of lands and tenementes vſed in Ancient tyme wᵗʰin the Countie of* Penbrok, *& of diverſe Ancient words and phraſes vſed in old tyme, now growne out of vſe, & not vnderſtood, and how the conveyance differre at this daye from that of Ancient time vſed.* Cap. 22.

Fo. 79a, anc. 76a.

Haveinge beene occaſioned to viewe and p*er*vſe manie Ancient deedes, wrytinges, and record*es* concerninge land*es*, and Tenem*entes* in *Penbrokſhire*, I finde, in manie thinges much difference in the forme and maner of conveyance in this age from that vſed in ancient tyme, wᶜʰ nowe ys growne ſtrange, and vnknowne to manie people at this daie; and therefore I thought ffitte to ſpeake ſomewhat thereof in this treatiſe, to the end that the Memorie thereof might not decaye, as allſo for the better vnderſtandinge of ſome ſtraunge, & vnvſuall tearmes and phraſes not knowne to euerye clerke[1] of this age; about the wᶜʰ you ſhall vnderſtand, that as this Countrey was called *litle England beyonde Wales*, ſo had yt in ancient tyme received the ordynarie meanes of conveyances of landes then vſed in England: ffor whereas the Counties of *Carmarthen* and *Cardigan* being the next ſhires adioyninge, and ſo the moſt part of Wales before the ſtatutes of 27. & 34. *h.* 8. (whereby all Wales was made ſhire ground) all lands, and tenem*entes* paſſed by ſurrender in the Lords Courte accordinge to the lawes of *Howell dha*,[2] ſo that in theſe Countries

[1] A scholar. 'He was also a lerned man—a clerk' (Chaucer, *Prologue*, l. 480).

[2] Hywel Dda died in 948 or 950, but the codes of laws that bear his name, *in their present form*, must be to a great extent (though one is unable to say exactly how far) later *rédactions* brought up to date by successive Welsh jurists. The earliest *extant* MSS. are: For the Venedotian (or North-Welsh) code, of about 1200; for the Dimetian and Gwentian (or South-Welsh) codes, of the later thirteenth century; for the Latin codes known as the *Leges Wallicæ*, of the twelfth and thirteenth (Harleian MS. 1796 goes back, we are now informed, to the later twelfth century). For a detailed list of the MSS. used by Aneurin Owen in his *Welsh Laws*, see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 295, 298-9; but there are several other MSS., some old and on parchment, at Peniarth, Bodorgan, and (especially) Shirburn Castle, which were not used by him.—E. P.

you ſhall finde no deedes, releaſes fines nor recoveries of anie land*es* before the 27. *h.* 8. except in certaine boroughes, and Engliſhe townes, where the ſame was vſed of the Engliſhe people: Yet ever ſithence the cominge hither of Earle *Strongbowe* into *Penbrokſhire*, w^ch^ as I ſaied before was in *Henry* the firſt his time he brought w^th^ him, and his *Engliſhe* people the vſe of the Engliſhe lawes, and he and his people vſed heere to paſſe all their landes according to the ceremonies of the lawes of England, viz

Fines & feoſementes in auncient tyme in Pembrok-ſhire.

by fines, and Recoveries ffeoffmentes and liverie of ſeiſine[1] (ſaving in fewe Lordſhips where the vſe of Coppyhold was induced and ſo contynued, where the tenantes keepe their old cuſtome to this daie, and doe paſſe all land*es* by ſurrender in Coort, as in manie L̄ps ys vſed in England,) but nowe to ſhewe in what coortes, by what order, and w^th^ what tearmes, and phraſes theſe conveyances paſſed ys worth the knowing for manie purpoſes, w^th^out the knowledge whereof yo^u^ maie pervſe manie deedes and not vnderſtand the meaninge thereof.

Fo. 79b, anc. 76b.

Fines and recoueries in the Countie courte of Pembrok.

†And firſt you ſhall knowe that the fines and recou*er*ies for the moſte parte paſſed in the Countye Court of Pembroke, holden before the Steward of *Penbrok.* the Shirieffe, and certaine ſuiters of the ſaied Court, w^ch^ Countie Coort was a Coort of Record holding all maner of pleas, of the Crowne, Reall, p*er*ſonall and mixte;

The ould Countie courte diſ-contynued.

This Countie Courte vpon the bringing in of ſhire ground, as before ys ſhewed, was holden to be diſolved, and hath beene ever ſithence diſcontinued, and in lue thereof a newe Countie Coorte erected by the ſaied ſtatute, holden nowe by the ſhirieffe alone, not anie thinge approachinge to that old diſſolved Countie[2] in p*re*rogative, & magnificence: In this Ancient Countie Coorte were all fines levyed (ſavinge in certaine L̄ps of *Penbrokshire* that had like peculiar juriſdiction w^th^in themſelves) and theſe fines were proſecuted vpon writtes of Covenante, and other writtes, as was vſed in the comon pleas at *Westm(inste)r*, and recou*er*ies were allſo paſſed vpon writtes of Entree in le poſt,[3] and other writtes as before ys ſaied, and vſed in the ſame ſingle & double

[1] Fines and recoveries (assurances of land by fictitious and complicated proceedings in the Common Pleas) were abolished by 3 and 4 William IV, cap. 74. Feoffments were grants of land out of court which were completed by the livery of seisin, *i.e.*, the open delivery of the feudal possession.

[2] The author uses 'County' for the court—the Latin word for both (*comitatus*) being the same. See p. 175, below (note 2).

[3] The writ used in common recoveries, so called from the words that occur in it. Other writs of entry were called for the like reason 'in the *per*' and 'in the *per and cui*'. All writs were written in Latin until 1731.

vouchers[1] verye formallie: And ſuch land*es* as were paſſed by feoffem*en*t, the ſame feoffem*entes* were made in latine or french, and of theis there were deedes, and lyu*er*ie, and ſeiſyne, and atturnem*en*t vpon the ſame, and afterwardes to haue releaſes to extinguiſhe further Right, and ſometimes letters of Attorney in the deedes to execute liu*er*ie of ſeiſin.

The differences that I finde in thoſe Ancient conveyances from theſe of our time, I will briefelie runne over, w^th^ as fewe words as I maie,

Forme of fines in ould tyme.

In fines in old time, if there were diu*er*ſe tenem*entes* in ſeu*er*all townereddſ, the vſe was to expreſſe how manie meſſuages, & what quantytie of lands, and of the ſeu*er*all ſorte of lande, was in eu*er*y townredd as thus; if a man paſſed by fine three meſuages, & a mill in the townredds of A. B. the fine ſhalbe thus: *De vno meſuagio, vno molendino aquatico granatico, duabus acris terr(e), duabus acris prati, duabus acris pasturæ, et duabus acris boſci cum pertinent(iis) in A. Duobus meſuagiis, duobus gardinis, duabus acris terr(e), tribus acris prati. duabus acris pasturæ, et duabus acris boſci cum pertin(entiis) in B.* ſo that thereby wold be apparant, how manie meſuages and what quantitie of land by gueſſe ſhold be in each townredd and in w^ch^ townredd the mill laye, whereas nowe a daies the vſe ys to huddle the ſeu*er*all parcells of manie townredds together and nowe the fine aforeſaied ſhold be thus levyed viz, *De tribus meſuagiis, vno molendino aquatico granatico, vno tofto,*[2] *duobus gardinis, quatuor acris terr(e), quatuor acris prati, quatuor acr(is) pasturæ et quatuor acris boſci cum pertinent(iis)* in *A: et B:* †And by the former yt doeth appeere how manye meſuages were in everye townereddſ, and in w^ch^ townereddſ the mill ſtood, and what quantitie of land was in each townredd, w^ch^ by the laſt fine ys obſcured, Fo. 80a, anc. 77a.

Yt was allſo vſuall vpon all fines, wherein anie reu*er*ſions were

[1] The vouchee, the person called by the defendant to warrant the title, was an important personage in the play-acting of the common recoveries. The 'common vouchee' was generally the crier of the court (who in Blackstone's time was named Jacob Morland), and was always the last person vouched. The plaintiff took Jacob out of court and left him there, and in Jacob's default won the action. This 'solemn juggling' lasted until 1833.

[2] In legal phraseology a "'toft' is a place wherein a house once stood, but it is now all fallen or puld down" (Rastell's *Termes de la Ley*, ed. 1659, *s. v.*). The word is a Norse one, and its original sense seems to have been 'a clearing, a space on which to build a house' (Skeat, *s. v.*). It occurs in the place-names of some parts of England (*e.g.*, Bratoft, near Spilsby, Lincolnshire).

Atturnementes in Auncient fines./

to paſſe to enter in the fine the Attournement*es*[1] of the tenantes w^ch^ was and ys a thing verie materiall, and a good courſe, thoughe nowe a dayes, wholely neglected, and for the better vnderſtanding thereof, I will heare laye downe the coppie of an Ancient fine levyed in tymes paſt, wherein ys Entred the ſaied attornement,

The Constat[2] *of ſome ancient fines levied in the Countie*[3] *of Penbrok.*

Hæc eſt finalis[4] Concordia facta in Curia domine Elizabethe[5] de Burgo domine de Clar, Cuſtodis Comitis Penbroch ex conceſſione domini Regis ratione minoris ætatis Laurentii de Haſting*es* apud Penbr*ochiam* die Martis proxima poſt feſtum Sancti Petri ad vinc*u*la Anno R*egni* R*egis* Ed*wardi* tertij poſt conqueſtum octavo, coram Steph*an*o Jacob tenente locum Thomæ de Chedworth Sen*eschalli* Pembr*ochie* ipſo Steph*an*o vic*ecomite*, Guidone de Brian, Rich*ard*o de Barry, Rob*er*to de rupe,[6] Waltero Malefant, Johanne Woghan et aliis d*ic*te d*omi*ne Elizabethe fidelibus tunc ib*ide*m p*re*ſentibus Inter Will*elmu*m filium Thome de Rupe[6] militis petentem et Walterum Alex cl*eric*um deforcianten*tem* de vno meſuag*io* et quinque bovatis terre cu*m* pertinen*tiis* in Ayllewarſton duabus Carr*ucatis* et dimid*ia*, et duabus bovat*is* terr*e* cum pertinen*tiis* in Kyngeſton, et de quinque bovat*is* terr*e* cu*m* pertinen*tiis* in

[1] The attornement, *i.e.*, the consent, of the tenant in the transfer of reversions, was abolished by 4 and 5 Anne, cap. 16. See note 2 on next page.

[2] The certified transcript. Cf. the meanings of the modern French *constater*.

[3] See note 2 on p. 170, above.

[4] The origin of the term 'fine'.

[5] See p. 24, above. Her real name was Isabel. The date of this deed is 1335.

[6] *I.e.*, of Roch Castle (cf. pp. 173, 177, 180, 183-8, below). Roch church is called *Ecclesia de Rupe* in *Tax. Eccl.* (1291), p. 275, col. 1. The Welsh name of Roch was *Y Garn* (see p. 46 above, text and note); the Welsh *carn* is glossed '*rupes*' in a MS. as early as 1200 (Cott. Vesp., A. xiv)—see *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 62. It is noteworthy that there is a parish with the same Norman name, given on account of a similar natural feature, in Celtic Cornwall, viz., Roche or Roach in the Hundred of Powder, so called from a confused pile of rocks 100 feet in height. The name of this place is wrongly derived by Tonkin from the French St. Roch, whose date was 1327, though in the *Tax. Eccl.* (1291), p. 147, the church (like the Pembrokeshire one) appears as *Ecclesia de Roupe*. The Cornish vernacular names of the place are given (Gilbert's *Cornwall*, iii, 391-3, 396-7) as 'Tre-Roach, *alias* Tregarreck' (from *carrek* 'a rock'); the latter survives in the modern 'manor of Tregarick'. The lords of this Roche also styled themselves '*De Rupe*' (Gilbert, *loc. cit.*).—E. P.

Claoniſtande[1] vnde pl*ac*itum Convenc*ion*is ſumm*onitum* fuit inter eos in eadem curia, ſcil*ic*et, quod pred*ictus* Will*el*mus Recognovit ten*emen*ta p*redic*ta cu*m* p*er*tin*entiis* eſſe ius p*redic*ti Walteri, et hered*um* ſuor*um* imp*er*petuum. Et pro iſta finali concordia, et iur*is* recogn*itione* p*redic*tus Walterus Conceſſit q*uo*d ten*emen*ta p*redicta* c*um* p*er*tin*entiis* quæ Rich*ard*us Symond miles, et Alienora vxor eius tenent ad vitam eor*um*, Et que poſt deceſſu*m* eor*um* ad p*redictu*m Walter*um* reverti deberent remaneant p*redicto* Will*el*mo hered*ibus* ſuis et ſuis aſſignat*is* imperpetuu*m*. Habend*um* et Tenend*um* de Capitalibus d*omi*nis feodi illius p*er* ſervit*ia* que ad ten*emen*ta illa p*er*tin*ent* imperpetuum, Et p*redict*us Walterus et hered*es* ſui ten*emen*ta p*redicta* cu*m* p*er*tin*entiis* pred*icto* Will*el*mo, hered*ibus* ſuis et ſuis aſſignat*is* contra omnes homines warrantizabunt imperpetuum., Et iſta finis ingroſſat*a* fuit et recitat*a* p*reſent*ibus* p*redict*is Rich*ard*o Symond et Alienora ux*ore* eius qui ten*emen*ta pred*icta* cu*m* p*er*tin*entiis* ad terminu*m* vite eoru*m* tenent, Et qui ſe inde Willelmo Attornau*er*unt, et ei inde fidelitatem fecerunt.[2] *Atturnementes.*

†Hæc eſt finalis Concordia facta in Curia D*omi*ni Adomari de Valencia[3] D*omi*ni Hau*er*ford die mercur*ii* in feſto Marce Evangeliſt*e* Anno R*egni* R*egis* E*dwardi*[4] filii regis E*dwardi* duodecimo, Coram D*omi*no Hugone de Panton tunc ſeneſch*allo* Hau*er*ford, Joh*an*ne Joyce, Will*el*mo Arrald, Joh*an*ne Gerrard, Edmundo Waddinge, et alijs fidelibus tunc ib*ide*m p*reſ*entib*us*, inter Thoma*m* de Rupe[5] fil*ium* Thome de rupe q*uerentem* et Joh*ann*em Cole deforc*iantem* de duobus meſuagiis et vna Carrucata terr*e* cum p*er*tin*entiis* in zeimſhulle,[6] vnde pl*acitum* Fo. 80b, anc. 77b.

[1] Ayllewarston, Kyngeston, and Claonistande—now Alleston (see p. 180, below, and p. 158, No. 34, above), Kingston, and Lammaston—are three farms on the Pembroke estate of the late Mr. William Owen of Withybush, who, according to the eminent genealogist, the late Sir Thomas Phillipps of Middle Hill, represented the direct male line of the family of the author.

[2] The 'attornment', *i.e.*, the acknowledgment by the tenant of the new owner of the reversion, which arose out of the feudal doctrine that the consent of the vassal was necessary to the transfer of the lordship, was abolished by 4 Anne, cap. 16. The oath of fealty (*fidelitas*) was incident to all lay tenures, and could apparently still be exacted. In copyhold tenures it is now formally respited.

[3] Aymer de Valence was also Earl of Pembroke (see p. 23, above); the two offices were frequently united. The lordship of Haverford was an important office, and from time to time held by the Crown or princes of the blood.

[4] Edward II. The date of this deed is 1319.

[5] See note 6 on last page.

[6] Probably Deemshill in Steynton parish.

ſumm*onitum* ſuit inter eos in ead*em* cur*ia* p*er* breve de Convenc*ion*e, vi*delicet* q*uo*d d*ict*us Joh*an*nes recognovit p*redict*a meſuagia et terr*am* p*redict*am cu*m* p*ertinentiis* eſſe jus ip*ſ*ius Thome, vt illud q*uo*d idem Thom*as* h*ab*et ex dono et conceſſione eiuſdem Joh*an*nis, Habend*a* et Tenend*a* p*redictum* meſuagiu*m* et terram p*redict*am cu*m* p*ertinentiis* eidem Thom*e* et hered*ibus* ſuis et aſſignat*is* de Capitalibus d*omi*nis feodi p*er*redditus et ſervic*ia* inde debit*a* et conſueta, Et p*redict*us Joh*annes* et hered*es* ſui p*redict*a meſuagia et terr*am* p*redict*am cu*m* pertinen*tiis* p*redicto* Thome et hered*ibus* ſuis et aſſignat*is* contra omnes mortales imperpetuu*m* warrantizabunt, Et p*ro* hac recognic*ion*e, warantia, fine et concordia p*redict*us Thomas concedit p*redicto* Joh*an*ni ad terminu*m* vite d*icti* Joh*an*nis vnu*m* meſuagiu*m* et dimid*iam* carruc*atam* terre de p*redict*a terr*a*, Et sciend*um* eſt quod Margeria, que fuit vx*or* Joh*an*nis Cole ven*it* et recognovit ſe tenere vnu*m* meſuagiu*m* et dimid*iam* Carruc*atam* terr*e* de p*redict*a terra ad terminu*m* vite d*icte* Margerie, et gratis d*icto* Thome ſe atturnauit, et fidelitatem fecit.

Atturnemente.

Recoueries. ffor Recou*eri*es they paſſed in Ancient tyme as they nowe doe w^th^ ſingle or double voucher, as the caſe required, onely this differinge in tymes paſt, all or moſt Comon Recou*eri*es paſſed vpon writtes of entrie[1] in le poſt,[2] but nowe latelie ytis doubted, whether theſame be warrantable by the ſtatute of *Ruthlan* before mencioned, to w^ch^ the ſtatutes of 27. & 34. *h.* 8.[3] referreth vs nowe, as before ys ſaied, and therefore of late yeares another courſe hath beene deviſed, and followed

Feoffementes. The feoffem*entes* were all by deed, liu*er*ye & Atturnem*en*t, and releaſes ſealed made vſuallie in Latine, and ſometimes in frenche, as the vſe then was, of theſe feoffem*entes* there are infinite nombers yet extant of great antiquitie, ſealed w^th^ ſondrie faire ſeales of armes of diu*er*ſe gentlemen faire and Curiouſelie engraven, ſome of great antiquitie before the vſe of date,[4] and ſome dated in the times of king *John*. *Henry* the third, the three *Edwards*. and ſo downeward, and thereby I finde the Courſe of deedes, & writinges obſerved in Ancient tyme to be w^th^out date, and w^th^in the bodie of the deede in the later end to haue

[1] Writs of entry, to show the unlawful commencement of possession, were abolished together with fines and recoveries. See note 1, p. 170, above.

[2] See note 3, p. 170, above.

[3] Henry VIII.

[4] See note 3, p. 104, above.

the names of the witneſſes written,[1] and not to haue them indorſed †As nowe yt is vſed, wherein I allſo note, that in moſt of theſe ancient deedes I finde the principall officers, and men of everie Countrey as yet well knowne, to be named as wittneſſes, and moſt comonlye equall in degree or neere to the parties to the deede, as if the deede were made by or to a Lord, Lords were Comonlie the wittneſſes, if betweene Knightes, then Knightes &c. whereby yt is at this daye coniectured, that all deedes were done w^th^ ſolempnitie, & ſealed in ſome great aſſemblyes, as at Seſſions, Counties,[2] leete Courtes, or ſuch like Aſſemblyes, or ells yt is thought, that ſo manie chiefe p*er*ſons could not be brought together ſo vſuallie to ſealinge of deedes, as wee finde them named allmoſt in everie deede of that age, and althoughe the deedes of thoſe tymes beare no date, yet by reaſon of ſuch principall men as comonlie are found to be wittneſſes in thoſe deedes, who are men knowne and noted in memorie to this our age, yet the time maie be gueſſed, when the ſame was written, for that moſt comonlie theſe wytneſſes, are in the contrey, men knowne; when they lived, and where they dwelled, as John *de gant*, *Humfrey duke of Gloucester*, and *Richard Nevill Earle of Warwyck*, and ſuch like are in England: and for the better knowledge hereof I haue collected together the notes and witt-neſſes of diu*er*ſe Auncient deedes of *Penbrokſhire* reduced into a p*er*fect and eaſie forme to be viewed amounting to the number of about 1800 names of ancient men of note, that lyved in *Penbrokſhire*.[3] |

Witneſſes in Auncient Deedes. Fo. 81a, anc. 78a.

In theſe Ancient deedes I finde diu*er*ſe formes, w^ch^ nowe wold ſeeme verie ſtrange to the clerkes and Scriveners[4] of our tyme, as whereas they vſe nowe to take ſtatutes[5] & obligac*i*ons for p*er*formance of Covenantes in Indentures; the vſe in old tyme was to ſweare the parties for p*er*formance of the Covenantes, as ſhall appeere by Coppyes of ſome Ancient writting*es*, w^ch^ I will in the end of this chapter inſert for the better vnd*er*ſtanding of the reader.

Oathes for performinge of couen-auntes.

An other vſe was to haue a clauſe in deedes that if the ſeller or his heires ſhold ſue, moleſt, or trouble the buier or his heires

[1] This custom still obtains in Scotland. The witnesses testified that they had heard the deed read *coram paribus*, and their names were added by the scribe, as the witnesses were, as a rule, unable to write. Witnesses began to sign their own names in the time of Henry VIII. [2] See note 2, p. 170, above.

[3] This memorial of the author's industry appears to have been lost.

[4] Law writers. [5] See note 2, p. 155, above.

for the ſame lands, or breake anie covenante, that then the Lord in whoſe Lp̄ the ſeller or his heires ſhold be found, ſhold diſtreyne him & his heires by all his lands, and goods vntill he ſhold enioye the land quiett, and vntill he performed the Covenantes, and a ſumme of money or a butte of wyne given to the lord, & to the officer that ſhold ſo diſtreine him, for his paynes in taking of the diſtreſſe /.

Diſtreſſe for breach of Couenaunte

Fo. 81b, anc. 78b.

†And in ſome deedes the ſeller and his heires wold ſubmytte himſelfe by his ſaied deede to the Buſhop, and to the Eccle*ſiaſtic*all Juriſdiction to excomunicate the partie, till he ſhold p*er*forme the Covenantes or ſuffer the partie to enioye the lands quietlie: Theis vncoth & ſtrange maner of Conveyances vſed in old tyme I thought good to give a taſte of to the reader in this place, whereof I haue in my time ſeene a multitude, and haue preſentlie[1] manie in my cuſtodie: yet nowe ys yt a courſe ſo ſtrange as that diu*er*ſe men wonder to heare of yt.

Excomunication for breache of couenaunte.

Wittneſſes in Deedes.

The vſe of ſubſcribing wittneſſes in the bodies of the deedes began in this Countrey as farre as I haue obſerved by pervſinge theſe auncient writinges about the time of *Ed.* 1. & 2: in whoſe raignes I finde of both ſortes, ſome having wittneſſes, and ſome not and yt ſeemeth to have contynued heere in *Penbrokshire* till the time of *H. 6.* and *Ed. 4;* and then and about the begynninge of *H. 7.* deedes were ſealed w^th^out either wittneſſes names in the bodie of the deede, or anie indorſem*en*t therof on the backe, and about the middeſt of the reigne of *H. 8.* the vſe beganne to indorſe the wittneſſes names on the backe of the deede, and this to be done by the wittneſſes themſelves, if they were literate, otherwiſe by ſome clerke or other for them,

About the time allſo of *H. 8.* beganne the vſe of ſubſcribinge of the parties name vnder the deede neere the ſeale, w^ch^ at this daie is growne to be a matter eſteemed ſo neceſſarie, as manie thinke the deede verie weake w^th^out yt, allthoughe our lawes require no ſuch ceremonie[2] /

They differed allſo in ancient time from the p*re*ſent vſe in the clauſe of warrantie,[3] for I found in many ancient deedes the

[1] At the present time.

[2] The Statute of Frauds, 29 Car. II, cap. 3, made writing necessary in many transactions ; but it has been disputed whether deeds were not still valid although only sealed and delivered ; see Sheppard's *Touchstone* (Preston's ed., 1820), i, 56, and Lord Denman's judgment in *Cooch v. Goodman* (2 Queen's Bench Reports, 597).

[3] The warranty clause, which appears in all old deeds, arose out of the feudal doctrine that land could not be alienated without the consent of the heir. It was superseded by the modern covenants for title.

clauſe of warrantie, thus, *Et ego vero pred(ictus) A. B. ten(emen)ta, pred(i)c(t)a cu(m) pertin(entiis) contra omnes homines et fœminas warrantizare tenemur;* belike *Homo* was the maſculine gender in thoſe daies, or at leaſt *fœmina* not ſo well knowen to be of the comon gender as now manie are in this age; allſo I haue ſeene warrantize *contra omnes Christianos, et contra omnes mortales*, and among all others, one clauſe of warrantie I thought worth the notinge, for the rarenes thereof, w^ch^ I finde in a deede made by *Galfridus de rupe*[1] to the *monks of Whitelande:* of lands in *Penvey*,[2] whoſe words are theſe. *Et hanc eis donationem*

Clauſe of warrantie in ould tyme contra ho(m)i(ne)s et feminas.

Contra omnes mortales.

[1] See note 6, p. 172, above.

[2] This place is mentioned in the confirmation charter of King John to Whitland Abbey, printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon* (ed. 1825), v, 591, col. 1, where it is misspelt *Pennei* (for *Penuei*). Pen y Fai near Llanelly has been suggested; but we cannot identify the place among the possessions of the Abbey mentioned in *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, pp. 276-7, or *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, iv, 407-8 (cf. Dugdale, v, 292). There were several other places in South Wales called *Pen y Fai* or 'Field End'. A *Landeui Penn bei* (probably Llanddewi Fach, between Pontypool and Caerleon) is mentioned in *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 50 (cf. p. 184). A *Penn ibei in Rosulgen* is mentioned in *Lib. Land.*, p. 229; it was apparently in what is now English Gower (is the name *Rosulgen* represented by the modern *Rhossili?*). This is almost certainly the same as the 'Villa Pennivei cum ecclesiâ suâ' of the lists of churches *ib.*, 32, 42, 86. There is another Pen y Fai in the Vale of Glamorgan, in the parish of Newcastle ('Higher' division), and a little N. of the town of Bridgend; the Ordnance mapsters have tortured this name into *Pen y Ffau!* Here was a well-known mansion, referred to in *Iolo MSS.*, p. 40, and frequently mentioned in Clark's *Genealogies of Glamorgan* (see the *Index Locorum* to that work) as 'Pen-y-Vae' or 'Penvae'. Mr. Storrie, of the Cardiff Museum, informs us 'that he has heard Cardiff Castle occasionally referred to by old inhabitants as *Pen-y-faa*' (so pronounced, not 'Pen y *Fai*'), and that 'he once heard the tenant of the Upper House at Llantwit Major call his house by that name; it is an early Tudor building, and local tradition assigns to it the credit of once being the residence of Anne Boleyn'.

Mai is one of the old Welsh words for 'a field'; see Pughe's *Dict.*, *s. v.*, for instances of its occurrence in literature and place-names; to these may be added *Gwynfai* ('Whitefield') near Llangadock in Carmarthenshire, and perhaps *Meifod*, a name which occurs two or three times in North Wales, and seems to mean 'Field-ham'. In place-names, *mai* is almost entirely confined to central South Wales.

The pronunciation *faa* (= *fâ*), given above, could not in the E. Glamorgan dialect represent *fai*. It might represent *fae;* but, owing to the absence in Mr. Clark's work of any standard of correctness in writing the Welsh names and words, we cannot depend on the authenticity of the form *vae* which he gives in his *Pen y Vae*, *Cilvae* (= *Cil Fai* by Swansea), and the like; though such forms may doubtless occur in late pedigrees. *Fâ* can only be explained as the mutated form of *ma*, anciently meaning (like its Irish representative *magh*) 'a

Contra Franc(os) Flandren-(ses) Anglic(os) et Wallences
Fo. 82a, anc. 79a.

contra omnes homines Juſticiabiles, francigenas, Flandrenſes Anglicos, et Wallenſes warrantizabo et heredes mei, This deede is w^th^out date, whereby †allſo ys gathered one prooffe that *Flemmings*, as allſo *frenchmen*,[1] were then in *Penbrokshire.*

Feod(um) Carrucat(a) bouat(a), Stang(a), et virgat(a) ter(e)./

In the quantitie of land menc*ion*ed in fines, Recoveries, and deedes of ancient tyme, there was difference allſo from the p*re*ſent vſe, for nowe moſt vſuallie the nomber of acres onely ys layed downe, whereas in Ancient tyme they vſed to expreſſe the ſame by the names of a knightes ffee, plowelandes, oxeland*es*, acres, ſtangues, & yardland called *virgata terre*, the true quantytie, and meaſure of each of them I haue formerlie declared in the 17 Chapter where I treated of land meaſure,[2] and in diu*er*ſe Ancient deedes I haue ſeene expreſſed what ploweland and what knightes ffees in what Baronie & Countie the land laye, whereof allſo I will hereafter laye downe the Coppye of ſome deedes to that effecte./

Rudvall.

You ſhall allſo finde certaine termes vſed in ancient tyme in deedes, w^ch^ nowe are ſcarce vnderſtoode of clerkes of our Countrey, as the word in *Rodvallo*, or in *Rodvallis*, and ſometimes written *Rudvall*, I haue found theſe termes in manie Ancient deedes, & for a great time I tooke the ſame to be the proper name of ſome towneredd or parcell of land, vntill by conference[3] of manie deedes I found the ſame properlie applied to landes lyeing ſcattered in manie peeces in ſome field or towneredd. And this word Rudvall ys vſed of the Comon people of this Countrie at this daie for anie land that is taken, as comon among the neighbours at certain tymes in the yeere, as appeareth by the deed of *Llūn*[4]

field' (in which sense it is preserved in *Gwynfa*, a district about Meifod in Montgomeryshire), but now only surviving as a suffix in composition, meaning 'a place', as in *trigfa;* it occurs once by itself in this sense in an old poem (Skene's *Four Books*, ii, 164 ; *B. of Taliessin*, No. xix, line 1). Anciently it occurred also rather often as a prefix, in the sense of a field, as in *Machynlleth* (cf. note 7 on p. 107, above), *Mathenni* (the old alias of Llandenny in Monmouthshire, both forms being from an original **Tenni ;* see *Lib. Land.*, 198, and Addl. Charters, British Museum, No. 5342), *Ma Meurig* (*Ma Mouric*, *Lib. Land.*, 197), *Mallwyd*, etc. Professor Rhys points out to us that the long vowel of *fâ* (from Old-Welsh *mag*) in an accented syllable is parallelled by the length of the vowel in *dâ* 'good' (from Old-Welsh *dag*), where the vowel was anciently short.—E. P.

[1] By *Francigenæ* were meant the *Normans*, who were regularly called *Franci* or *Ffreinc* (*i.e.*, Frenchmen) by the Welsh annalists, as may be seen from the indexes to the Rolls Editions of the *Annales Cambriæ* and *Brut y Tywysogion.* The Normans are also called *Francan* or Frenchmen in the *A.-S. Chronicle.*

[2] See the text and notes of pp. 133-6, above, especially the tables on pp. 135-6, for all these measures. [3] Comparison. [4] Llewelyn.

wyn facta Howelo filio Joh(an)nis Cantington de terra arabili iacent(e) in Rodivall infra carrucat(am) terr(e) de tregunwron[1] *in feodo de bayvill in Baronia de Kemes, Dat(um) die lune in Cr(aſtin)o S(anc)te Hillarij Anno R(eg)ni Regis Edwardi tertij post conquestum quadragesimo tertio*[2]; Allſo the deed *of Ho(we)ll ap Phē scholhaig*[3] dat ſororibus ſuis omnia meſuagia et tene*men*ta, totam terr*am* ſua*m*, totu*m* pratu*m* ſuu*m*, totu*m* boſcu*m* ſuu*m*, et totu*m* ius ſuu*m* apud *Henllis, Treginwran, Crugieu, Pant y groes et Egloſ-more*,[4] in feodo de *Bayvill* cu*m* per*tinen*tiis et lib*er*tatib*us* quib*us*-cumque. Habend*a* et Tenend*a* p*redicta* meſuagia, terr*as*, tene-*men*ta, pratu*m*, totu*m* ius p*redictu*m vt iacet in Rodwall per ſuas certas notas et bundas &c. Hijs teſtibus Phillippo de Hankeſton,[5] Constabulario de Kemes, Oweno ap Howell, †Dauid Peverell, Griffino ap phe vychan, Phillippo lloyd, et Griffith ap ll*ewell*in ap Phe, Dat*um* apud Henllys die Jovis prox*ima* poſt feſt*um* Pentecoſtes, Anno R*egn*i Regis Edwardi tertii poſt Conqueſtu*m* xx^{iijo};[6] and yet ys there noe place neere anye of thoſe called *Rodwalles*,[7] ſaving that the land named in the deede lyeth ſcattered in ſondrye peeces in the places aforeſaied, and not entire. Fo. 82b, anc. 79b.

Allſo yt appeereth by a deed of *Nicholas* ſonne of *Martyn* Lord of *Kemes*, that *Rudivall* was ſo vnderſtoode, as by the coppie following maye appeere./

[1] Called *Treginwran* a little lower down.

[2] 1370.

[3] Howel ap Phelip Ysgolhaig ('Philip the Scholar', of Henllys, an ancestor of the author).

[4] All in and about the parish of Bayvill.

[5] See the grant to him of mills at Newport by James Lord Audley in 1338, printed in *Baronia*, p. 67. *Hankeston* seems to be meant for Tankerston in Brawdy parish, of which the original name was Tancardston.

[6] 1250.

[7] *Redwalles* (as may be seen from p. 144 above) was the English name (one name being a translation of the other) of the place which has given its name to the two farms now called *Fagwyr Gôch* (Fawr and Fach) in Morvill parish. Not far off, in the basin of the Gwaen, are places called *Fagwyr* (or *Fagwr*) *Lâs*, *F. Lwyd*, and *F. Frân* (called *Magoer-varan* in the deed mentioned in note 1 to p. 183, below—see *Baronia*, p. 60); and there is another *Fagwr Gôch* in Llantood parish. *Magwyr* ('a wall,' from Lat. *maceria*) seems to occur often in Kemes; it is also found in the names of the parishes of *Magor* in Gwent Iscoed and *Maker* (called *Macuir . . . . . juxta Thamar* in MS. Cott., Faustina A. ii, fo. 23[a]) in Cornwall, on Plymouth Sound (see Dugdale's *Monasticon*, ed. 1825, i, 337. A donation of 'Ros et *Macor*' is mentioned in the same document).

The English place-name *Redwalles* has apparently no connection with that of the custom of *Rodwell* or *Rudivallum*, mentioned here and on pp. 193-4, below, as supposed by our author, Fenton, and others (see *Camb. Reg.*, ii, 196, Fenton, pp. 345-6, and *Arch. Camb.* for 1862, 3rd Series, vol. viii, pp. 235, 290-2).—E. P.

Nicholaus filius *Martini* Dominus de *Kemes* dat *Ph(illipp)o vychan* filio *Phillippi ap Rickard* vnam bovatam terre cum pertinentiis quam *Jevan goch* quondam tenuit in tenemento de *Bayvill*, et hoc in rudivallis iuxta terram predicti *Phillippi* parvi. Tenendam et habendam ſibi et heredibus ſuis de me et heredibus meis et aſſignatis tam diu quam tenementum predictum de *Bayvill* ſit in manu mea et heredum meorum, Hiis teſtibus, *Llewelino goz*[1] tunc Conſtabulario de *Kemes*, *Eynon ap g'll'm*,[2] *Lewelino* Rectore de Bayvill, *Willelmo ap Ricard*, *Lewelino vychan ap bwa gadarne*,[3] cum multis alijs, ante datum.[4]

Tenement-(um). Allſo I finde in manie ancient deedes this word *in tenemento*, wch ſignifieth ſometimes the manor or L^p, ſometimes the pariſhe, libertie or Townredd, wherein the land lieth, as appeereth by a fine betweene *Richard Symon*, plaintiff, and *William Benger*[5] of *Penbrok*, deforciant, *de vno mesuagio, ſexaginta acris terre cum pertinen(tiis) in Aylwardston in tenemento Pembrok*, and this *Aylwardstone*, nowe comonlie called *Aleston*, was a towneredd wthin the liberties of *Penbrok*, Eaſt of the towne halfe a mile[6]; Allſo in a fine *inter Willelmum de Bolvill*[7] *militem, et Thomam de rupe*,[8] *Anno Ed. R.* 2, ys mencioned lands in *Westfield* in *tenemento de Burton*, wch *Westfield* was a townredd in the pariſhe of *Roſe-markett*, but wthin the manor of *Burton*, ſo that *tenementum* there is taken for the Manour, whereof the lands are holden; Allſo I haue ſeene deedes *de vno meſſuagio vocat(o) Comeog in tenemento de Bayvill*, where Bayvill is the Manor wherein *Comeog* ſtandeth.

Gabellum. You ſhall allſo finde in diuerſe ancient deedes this word *Gabellum* or in gabello, and ſometimes *gabularij:* this word *Gabellum*,[9] wch I never ſawe nor read in anie writinges or ſurveys (ſaving thoſe concerninge lands in *Penbrokshire*), †ſigniefieth the

Fo. 83a, anc. 80a.

[1] Gôch. [2] Gwillim.

[3] That is to say, 'of the strong bow'.

[4] This is an abridgement of the deed printed with the *Baronia*, pp. 55-6. *Ante datum* is an addition by the author, and would appear to mean 'before the use of date'. See note 3 on p. 104, and p. 174 (note 4), above.

[5] Fenton, in a note *ad locum* (*Camb. Reg.*, ii, 189), says that he was of Benegerston, now Bangeston. The Benegers were an old Pembrokeshire family, one of whom rebuilt Pwllcrochan Church in 1342.

[6] See note 1, p. 173, above. In Ducange (ed. 1887), *s. v.*, are given examples from French documents (chiefly relating to Provence) of similar uses of *tenementum* in the sense of 'territorium, districtus alicujus loci' (*e.g.*, *in Arelate vel ejus tenemento*, 'in Arles or its territory').

[7] Bullwell, on the south of Milford Haven.

[8] See note 6, p. 172, above.

[9] The word is found wherever land was held in gavel-kind.

eſtate of the tenante that holdeth the land, to be eyther at will for yeares, or for life, payeing rent for the ſame, and not of land holden in ffee ſimple, or ffee tayle ; for in manie deedes you ſhall finde, *quam quidem terram Johannes Phillip tenet in gabello*, that is as much to ſaie, as *John Phē* is tenant in the land, and that he holdeth the ſame at will for yeares or life, payeing rent ; and you ſhall allſo finde in manie antient Rentrolls, and ſurveyes this difference in the rentes, as *Redditus liberorum tenentium, et redditus gabulariorum tenentium*, the one being chiefe rent, as yt is vſuallie called, paied by freeholders or thoſe that haue ſtate of inheritance, the other is ment[1] rent of all tenantes, that hold of the manor at will or by leaſe, for life, or yeares, and this amonge the comon people of this countrey, ys yet vſuallie called gaell rent and ſuch tenantes gaell tenantes.[2] *Gael rent.*

Allſo I haue found in manie Ancient Coort Rolls the heading of the Court to be *Curia ſecreta de N*, this was allwaies the leete Coorte of the Manor, becauſe at theſe leetes yt was vſed to cauſe all people to departe, when the Jurie gave up their p*re*ſentem*en*t, *vide Statut de Ruthlan*[3] *Curia Secreta.*

The vſe was allſo among the Clerkes of that age in old tyme vpon morgaging of land to make abſolute, eſtates by ffeofm*en*t w^th^out anie condition of redempc*i*on in the deedes, and to haue beſide a paire of Indentures, mencioning the morgage, or moſt comonlie an obligation from the morgagee to the morgagor for redemption of the landes, which oftentimes bredd much lawe and diſcord, & wreſted the meaninge of the parties to wrong ; and *Morgage.*

[1] That is to say, 'by the other is meant.'

[2] The 'gael' tenants (for whom see the *Baronia*, p. 44) were originally those who held by rent and not by knight's service. The word is now *gale*, in common use in Ireland ; its origin is the A.-S. *gáfol*, 'tribute' (whence *Gafulford* or *Gafolford* in *A.-S. Chron.*, *sub anno* 823, now probably Fulford in Devon), which appears in a better-conserved form in '*gavel*-kind'. The French form is *gabelle*, which came specially to mean the salt-tax ; but the terms both in English and French were once much more general ones than they subsequently got to be. For the nature of the Anglo-Saxon *gáfol*, see Seebohm's *English Village Community*, pp. 142-7.

[3] This statute says that the presentments should in certain cases be made in secret : 'Et si quos [jurati] invenerint qui ob eorum maleficium vitam amittere debeant vel membra, eorum nomina *in secretis intiment vicecomiti*, ne forte hujusmodi indictati, si præsentes essent in turno, aufugerent, si in publico indictarentur. De ceteris autem capitulis bene poterint palam et publice respondere et veredictum suum reddere,' etc. See *Statutes at Large*, *Statutum Wallie* (12 Edw. I), *De officio Vicecomitis in Wallia* (*sub fine*). In the edition of the *Statute of Rhuddlan* printed in Aneurin Owen's *Welsh Laws*, the passage will be found at p. 865 of the folio, and pp. 911-2 of the 8vo., edition.

therefore at this daye, the ſame is almoſt forgotten, & a better courſe brought in place, to make the deedes of Morgage condicionable.[1]

[1] In a Welsh mortgage formerly much used in Wales, the estate was conveyed absolutely to the creditor without condition, but was redeemable at any time on repayment of the loan. The rents and profits were taken by the creditor in lieu of interest. There was no covenant for repayment, and the mortgagee could not compel foreclosure. Deeds between two parties were indented, *i.e.*, cut in sharp angles to correspond with each other, and each party kept one part. The deed-poll, executed by one party, was cut smooth. The indenting is, since 8 and 9 Vict., cap. 106, no longer necessary.

The Coppies *of certaine Ancient deedes, and Writtinges* Verbatim *as the ſame are to be ſeene provinge the matters before alledged,*

In Carta inter Do*min*um *Nicholaum* filiu*m* *Martini* Do*mi*ni de *Kemes*, et omnes liberos ho*min*es ſuos de *Kemes* tam *Anglicos* quam *Wallenſes*, ſic inſcribitur, *Omnes vero prescriptos* †*Articulos* firmiter et fideliter observandos imp*er*petuu*m* p*ro*miſit d*ict*us d*omin*us N. p*er* sacramentu*m* corporaliter preſtitu*m* p*ro* ſe et heredibus ſuis et aſſignat*is*, et omnes liberi homines de *Kemes* ex parte ſua ſimiliter pro ſe et hered*ibus* ſuis et aſſignatis, Necnon et gabularijs, &c.[1]

Fo. 83b, anc. 80b. *Oath for performance of couenauntes.*

Omnibus ad quos p*re*ſentes l*itte*re p*er*vene*r*int Joh*ann*es Stackepoll Capellanus, ſal*ut*em in Do*mi*no, Noue*r*itis me p*ro* me et heredib*us*, Executor*ibus* et aſſignatis meis dediſſe et, conceſiſſe Will*el*mo filio *Thome de rupe*,[2] mil*iti*, hered*ibus* et aſſignat*is* ſuis, quatuor centu*m* libras ſterlingor*um* annui redditus exeuntis et p*er*cipiend*i* annuatim p*redicto* Will*el*mo hered*ibus* et aſſign*atis* ſuis de man*er*ijs meis de *Burton* et de *Oggeston*,[3] et de omnibus alijs terr*is* et tenementis meis cu*m* omnibus eor*um* p*er*tinen*tiis* in com*itatu* *Penbroch*, ad duos anni termin*o*s vi*delicet* ad Paſcha, et ad feſtu*m* S*anct*i Mich*ael*is equis porc*ion*ibus, Et ſi contingat p*re*-d*ict*u*m* Will*elmu*m hered*es* et Aſſignatos ſuos de predictis quatuor centu*m* libris ſterlingor*um* annui redd*itus*, vel de aliqua p*ar*te eor*un*dem termin*is* p*redictis* non fore p*er*solut*os* volo et concedo p*ro*me et hered*ibus* execut*oribus* et aſſignat*is* meis, quod liceat p*redicto* Will*el*mo hered*ibus* et aſſign*atis* ſuis in omnibus p*redict*is manerijs terr*is*, et ten*emen*tis cu*m* omnibus eor*um* pertinen*tiis*, et in qualibet p*ar*te eor*un*dem diſtringere, et diſtrictione*m* retinere et abducere ubicu*n*que voluerint quouſque eidem Will*el*mo hered*ibus* et aſſignat*is* ſuis de p*redict*is quatuor centu*m* libris ſterl*ingorum* annui redd*itus* plenarie fu*er*it ſatiſſ*actu*m; Et ſi contingat p*redictu*m

[1] This is taken from the conclusion of the charter of Nicholas Fitzmartin in 1278, which (*inter alia*) gives the freemen of Kemes the same liberties as then enjoyed by the freemen of the county of Pembroke. There are more than forty witnesses, whose names are of much interest; see the *Baronia*, pp. 57-60, where this charter is printed.

[2] See note 6, page 172, above.

[3] Wogaston; see note 4, p. 108, above.

Will*elmu*m hered*es* et affignat*os* ſuos diſtrictione*m* ſufficientem in p*redict*is man*er*ijs terris et ten*emen*tis cu*m* omnibus eo*rum* pertinen*tiis* ad ſoluc*ion*em p*redictarum* quatu*or* centum libr*arum* ſterl*ingorum* annui redditus terminis p*redict*is non invenire, volo et concedo pro me, hered*ibus*, executor*ibus* et affignat*is* meis, quod ex tunc liceat p*redicto* Will*el*mo hered*ibus* et affignat*is* suis omnia p*redicta* maneria, terr*as* et ten*emen*ta cu*m* omnibus eo*rum* p*er*tinen*tiis* ſine aliqua contradictione mei, hered*um*, executor*um*, et affignator*um* meor*um* intrare, et ea iure hereditar*io* libere, quiete, bene, et in pace obtinere imperpetuu*m*. Et inſuper ſi contingat me p*redictu*m Joh*ann*em, hered*es*, executor*es* et affign*atos* meos in soluc*ion*e p*redictarum* quatuor centum librar*um* ſterlingor*um* annui redditus terminis pred*ict*is deficere vetare, aut elongare[1] vel diſtrictionem ſufficientem non habere, aut ingreſſum in p*redict*is man*er*ijs, terr*is*, et tenement*is* cu*m* omnibus eor*um* p*er*tin*entiis* p*redicto* Will*el*mo, hered*ibus* et affignat*is* ſuis negare, aut aliquo alio modo impedire, vel p*redictu*m Will*el*mum hered*es* et affignat*os* ſuos de p*redict*is man*er*ijs terr*is* et ten*emen*tis cum omnib*us* eor*um* p*er*tinen*tiis* vel de aliqua parte eor*un*dem implacitare,[2] aut aliquo modo contra tenorem preſentiu*m*, vt ſcriptum eſt, venire, quod abſit, volo et concedo p*ro* me, hered*ibus* executor*ibus* et assignat*is* meis quod teneamur p*redicto* Will*el*mo, heredibus, et affignat*is* ſuis in quinque

Fo. 84a, anc. 81a. †mille libris argenti bone et leg*a*lis monete p*ro* dampnis et expenſis ſuis nomine puri debiti ad quamlibet demonſtrationem huius l*itte*re. Et quod domini vel eor*um* ballivi in quor*um* ballivijs inventi

Diſtr(aint) for breach of Couenaunte. fuerimus vel bona noſtra inventa fuerint diſtringant nos p*er* omnia bona noſtra mobilia et immobilia, terr*as*, reddit*us* et poſſeſſiones de die in diem quovſque p*redicto* Will*el*mo, hered*ibus* et affignatis ſuis de p*redict*is quinque mille libris argenti plenarie ſatiſſecerimus, principali convenc*ion*e[3] in ſuo robore nihilominus firmiter p*er*manente; Et qui districtione*m* fecerint habeant de bonis noſtris

Reward for diſtr(aint). viginti libras argenti p*ro* diſtrictione quotiens neceſſe fuerit faciend*i*: In cuius Rei teſtimoniu*m* preſenti ſigillu*m* meu*m* appoſui. Dat*um* apud *Oggeston*[4] octavo die menſ*is* Martij, Anno R*eg*ni Regis Edwardi tertij poſt Conqueſtum decimo.[5]

Vniuerſis Chriſti fidelib*us* has litteras viſur*is* vel auditur*is* *Galfridus Huſcard* ſalut*e*m in D*omi*no. Nouerit vniu*er*ſitas v*est*ra

[1] To make default, refuse, or avoid. *Elongatio* was the removal of goods to avoid a distress.

[2] To *implead* (cf. Acts, xix, 38), *i.e.*, take legal proceedings against.

[3] Covenant. [4] See note 3 on last page. [5] 1337.

q*uo*d cum *Dauid de rupe*[1] feofaſſet me et herede*s* meos de dimid*ia* marca annui reddit*us* in villa Joh*an*nis[2] in *Roos*[3] Cum d*omi*ni*o* Relevio et Maritagio Joh*an*nis de le Ward de ead*em* villa Joh*an*nis, et in octo Marcis Argenti pre manibus[4] ſolviſſet p*ro* quarta parte vnius Carrucat*e* terr*e* in *le Winhill*[5] quam *Will(el)mus* de *Midlehill* recup*er*auit de me in com*itatu* Penbrock; Et ego predict*u*s *Galfridus* vocaui ad warrantu*m* herede*s* *Rob(er)ti de Valle*[6] qui vene*r*unt et warrantizave*r*unt p*redict*am terr*am* in p*redicto* com*itatu* me pura et ſpontanea voluntate mea recepiſſe de p*redicto* *Dauid* p*redict*um Redditu*m* cu*m* predictis D*omi*nio, Relevio, Wardo, Maritagio,[7] et pecunia p*ro* extent*a*[8] p*redicte* quarte partis terr*e* contingen*tis* dicto *Dauid* pro portione ſua, vnde volo et concedo p*ro* me et hered*ibus* meis, quod ſi contingat me vel herede*s* meos de cetero aliquod jus, tit*ulu*m, clameu*m*[9] vel aliq*ui*d aliud de p*redicto* *Dauid* vel hered*ibus* ſuis extenta p*redicte* quarte partis terr*e* p*redicte* exigere, q*uo*d abſit, vel clamare, q*uo*d Ego et herede*s* mei teneamur p*redicto* Dauid et hered*ibus* ſuis in viginti libris argenti nomine puri debiti subijciens me et herede*s* meos diſtrictioni quor*un*cu*n*que d*omi*nor*um* et ballivor*um* ſub quor*um* poteſtate et D*omi*nio fuerimus inventi, q*uo*d ipſi poſſint diſtringere, nos per omnia bona noſtra mobilia et immobilia vbicunque fuerint inventa ad ſolvend*um* p*redict*as viginta libr*as* p*redicto* *Dauid*, et hered*ibus* ſuis sine pl*ac*ito,[10] iudicio, et contradictione, ſi contra p*re*ſcripta venerimus, Et qui diſtrictionem fecerit, habeat de bonis noſtris duo dolia vini pro diſtrictione, ſi neceſſe fuerit faciend*i*; In cuius Rei testimoniu*m* huic ſcripto †Sigillu*m* Meu*m* appoſui, Dat*um* apud *Harford*[11] die Mercurij p*roxima* poſt diem S*anc*te Marie Magdalene; Anno Domini 1303.

diſtreſſe.

Reward pro diſtr(ictione).

Fo. 84b, anc. 81b.

Uniu*er*ſis Chriſti fidelib*us*, *Walterus* dict*us* *Gwrda*[12] sal*ut*em in

[1] See note 6, p. 172, above. [2] Johnston.

[3] It is worth noting that the same alteration of the long vowel of the Welsh word *Rhôs* seems to have been carried out in another part of Wales, settled (like South Pembrokeshire) by the English and Flemings, viz., in the name of the place called *Roose*, near Porthkerry in Glamorganshire.

[4] 'In hand', usually *prae manu.*

[5] Winsel, in the hamlet of St. Thomas. [6] Valley in Wiston parish (?).

[7] The feudal rights of *relief*, *i.e.*, the fine to the lord paid by the successor to an inheritance; *wardship*, *i.e.*, the custody of the lands of an infant heir; and *marriage*, *i.e.*, the disposal of an infant ward in matrimony. The two last were of Norman origin, and were no part of the general feudal system.

[8] Value. [9] Claim. [10] Litigation, literally *plea*.

[11] Haverfordwest; see p. 81, note 2, above, and cf. Leland's *Itin.*, viii, 84[a].

[12] Probably this is *gwrda* (from *gwr da*), meaning an *optimas* or nobleman (*gwyrda*, its plural, means 'nobles', not 'good people' or 'good men', as it is

D*omi*no ſempiternam, notu*m* ſit vniu*er*ſitati ve*ſt*rae me debere facere ſectam curie,[1] et in exercitu*m* ire, et omne ſervicium facere, q*uo*d quandocunque faciend*um* erit p*ro* tota terr*a* de villa *Thoner* cum p*er*tin*entiis* tam ex parte orientali, quam ex parte occidentali q*ua*m tenet magiſter *Tancardus de rupe*,[2] Et ego nec ſectam cur*ie* nec excercitu*m*, nec aliquod ſervitiu*m* de d*icta* terra sive p*redicta* terra potero aliquo modo vendicare, nec homines p*redictam* terram habitantes namiare[3] ſeu aliquo modo diſtringere mihi ſicut vicinus vicinum ſuu*m* aliq*uo*d damnu*m* vel iniuriam aliquo modo non inferre, ſalvis mihi duntaxat homag*ijs*, Ward*is*, Relevijs cum accidere poterint de p*redicta* terra. Et ad omne ſive totu*m* ſervicium, ut p*redictum* eſt de d*icta* terra ſive p*redicta* terr*a* q*uo*d poterit de iure vendicare faciend*um* obligo me et hered*es* meos m*agiſtro* *Tancardo* et hered*ibus* ſuis ſive aſſignat*is*. Et tota*m* meam terra*m* de villa *Ketinge*,[4] atq*ue* totam hereditatem meam, quod ſi contra p*re*ſcript*a* ſuper*ius* in aliquo vene*ro*, vel p*ro* defectu alicuius ſervitij cuiuſcunque habitator[5] totius prefate terre damnu*m* paſſi fuerint de ſatiſfaciend*o* ipſis de damno in duplu*m*, et de dando d*omi*no Comiti *Glovernie*,[6] vel hered*ibus* ſuis Decem marcas n*omi*ne pœnæ: Et decem marcas Domino *Will(el)mo de Valencia*[7] vel hered*ibus* ſuis n*omi*ne ſimiliter pœne, Et decem marcas D*omi*no *Meneven(si)* Epiſcopo, qui pro tempore fuerit, conſentiens q*uo*d ſi in aliquo contra p*re*ſcript*a* venero, et in p*re*miſſis omnibus vel ſing*u*lis fidem a me corporaliter p*re*ſtitam non obſervand*am* quod d*ict*us D*omi*nus Epi*ſcop*us *Menevenſis* qui pro tempore fuerit, vel Archidiaconus Menevenſis vel *Decanus*[8] de *Roos* me seu hered*es* meos excomunicet, et ad obſervationem omniu*m* p*re*ſcriptoru*m* p*er* ſententia*m* excomunicationis compellat omni appellatione ac impetit*ione*[9] ceſſantibus: In cuius Rei testimoniu*m* litteris preſentibus ſigillu*m* meu*m* appoſui, Hijs teſtibus, *Galfrido de Huſcard*, *Ric(ard)o de Huſcard*, *Ric(ard)o de Sancta Brigida*, *Gilberto de*

Excommunication.

grotesquely translated in the Rolls edition of *Brut y Tywysogion*, pp. 227, 283); but there was also a quite distinct personal name *Gwrdaf*, reducible into *Gwrda*.

[1] *Secta Curiæ* meant the *suit* and service done by tenants at the court of their lord. [2] Tancard of Roch; see note 6, p. 172, above.

[3] Take security from. *Namium*, *namma*, etc., are of the same origin as the old French *namp*, *nampt*, etc., whence the modern *nantir*, 'to deposit a pledge', etc. The old French word *nanter* bore the same sense as the *namiare* of the text.

[4] Now Keeston, in Camrose parish. *Ketinge* is apparently the modern name *Keating*, well known as an Irish family name.

[5] Here we must read *habitatores*.

[6] The custodian of the earldom of Pembroke after the defeat of William de Valence with the royal army at Lewes in 1264.

[7] See page 22, above. [8] The rural dean. [9] Appeal and petition.

Muſſellvick, Ric(ard)o de Manros, Owein de Filbuche,[1] *Will(el)mo de Filbech et alijs.*

†Uniu*er*ſis Chriſti fidelibus *Gilb(er)tus* filius *Thome* de Villa *Thoner*, ſalu*te*m in D*omi*no eternam. Noverit vniu*er*ſitas ve*ſt*ra me et hered*es* meos debere ſolvere ſing*u*lis annis M*agiſt*ro *Tancardo* de rupe, vel ſuis hered*ibus* ſeu aſſignat*is* ſuis tres Marcas et quinq*ue* ſolid*os* ad duos terminos Anni, vi*delicet* medietatem p*redict*e quantitatis ad Nativitatem D*omi*ni, et aliam medietatem ad feſtu*m* S*an*cti Joh*an*nis Baptiſte p*ro* duabus Carrucat*is* terr*e* quas teneo de p*re*fato Magiſtro in villa *Thoner*, quæ jacent inter villam *Tunere* occidentalem et villam de *Pelcam* et ter*ra*m de *Stridehoc* et acquietar*e*[2] tenemus[3] ip*ſ*um, heredeſq*ue* ſuos ſeu aſſignat*os* de omni ſervicio forinſeco, q*uo*d de d*icta* terra exigi, vel ab aliquo poterit aliq*ua*m, et ſeque[3] molendin*a* et Curiam prefat*i* m*agiſtr*i de villa *Lamberti*[4] tenemur, Et ego et hered*es* mei ſolvere prefato m*agiſtr*o vel hered*ibus* ſuis ſeu aſſignat*is* ſeptem Marcas ſterlingor*um* ſi per judiciu*m* comitatus, vel curie cuiuſcu*n*q*ue*, *Hugo* de villa *Toner* vel aliquis de filijs ſeu hered*ibus* ſuis aliquam partem terr*e*, quam ab ip*ſ*o teneo evicerit, alioquin non tenebuntur mihi vel hered*ibus* meis eſcambiu*m*[5] facere de terra evicta; It*e*m Conceſſi pro me et hered*ibus* meis ſeu aſſignat*is*, q*uo*d memoratus magiſter libere et ſine contradictione poſſit fodere, et habere, turbas ſive glebas ad ſufficientia*m* vſibus ſuis, et domus ſuæ, vbi uoluerit in mora[6] que ſunt in d*icta* terr*a* du*m* viverit, Conceſſi et conſenſi pro me et heredibus meis et aſſignatis meis, q*uo*d ſi ceſſavero in aliquo

Fo. 85a, anc. 82a.

[1] Hasguard, St. Bride's, Musselwick, Marloes, and Philbeach all lie together. The witnesses were presumably neighbours of Walter the Nobleman.

[2] To release. The places meant are Thornton, between West Dunstone and Pelcomb, in Camrose parish, and (?) Hoch (probably the same word as *Hook;* see p. 33, above) in Roch parish; the *ch* in this word is pronounced as in Welsh. There is a place name *Stridland* in Ambleston parish. [Besides the well-known *ystrad*, 'a vale', there was a Welsh word *ystred*, occurring in the *Book of Taliessin* (Skene's *Four Books*, ii, 172) in *Katellig ystret*, 'the vale (or stream?) of *Cadelling*' —this 'tribe of Cadell' was that of the ruling family of ancient Powys, and its traditional seat was at Cegidfa or Guilsfield. In Lewis Glyn Cothi's *Works*, p. 187 (l. 49 of the poem), *ystred* seems to mean 'a stream'; if so, it should be the same word as the Middle-Cornish *stret* 'latex', spelt later *streyth*. This Welsh word (or else *ystrad*) seems to occur in the name of *Yester*, a parish in South Haddingtonshire, containing the village of Gifford, and anciently called *Yestred* (Chalmers' *Caledonia*, ii, 534-5).—E. P.]

[3] Here we ought apparently to read *tenemur*, and *aliquando*, et *sequi*. The 'suit of mill' (*sequi molendina*) was the vassal's obligation to grind his corn at the lord's mill.

[4] Lambston.

[5] Exchange.

[6] To dig turves or peats in any part of the *moor*.

terminor*um* p*redict*or*um* ſolu*er*e q*uo*d fuerit in termino ſoluend*um*, ſicut ſcriptu*m* est, quod Magiſter memoratus libere me et hered*es* meos de tota terra, quam p*er* Cartam de ip*ſ*o teneo sine Judicio alicuius Curie, et ſine aliqua impetic*ion*e authoritate propria excludat, et d*ict*as Carrucat*as* terr*e* cum terra de *Stridehoc*, ſicut ſuas proprias imperpetuu*m*, tam ip*ſ*e q*u*am hered*es* ipſius vel aſſignati libere, pacifice, et quiete poſſideat. Et conſenſi pro me et hered*ibus* meis vel aſſignat*is* quod si contra p*reſ*criptas con-ceſſiones meas, quas iure iurando corporaliter p*reſ*tito firmavi obſervaturus alicui venero, vel conquerendo, vel aliquo modo impetrando, quod dictus Epi*ſcop*us *Menevenſis*, vel Archidiaconus loci vel Decanus, me vel heredes meos excommunicent vſq*ue* ad debitam ſatiſfactionem ; hijs teſtibus, D*omi*nis *Gilberto de Valle*, *Galfrido de Rupe*,[1] *Mauricio filio Simonis*, †*Willi(el)mo Gwrda*,[2] *Johanne Allard*, *Symon Junen*, *Hay Calvo*, *Adam de Villa Thoner*, *Henrico fulco*, *Ric(ard)o Huſcarde*, *Waltero Gwrda*, *Gilb(er)to Cl(er)ico*, et multis alijs. In Cuius Rei teſtimoniu*m* preſent*ibus* litteris duxi apponend*os* teſtes ſubſcriptos.

Excomunication.

Fo. 85b, anc. 82b.

Omnibus preſens ſcript*um* viſur*is* vel auditur*is* Iſabella vx*or* Rogeri Sciſſoris[3] eternam in D*omi*no ſal*ut*em . Noveritis q*uo*d ſi contingat me vel hered*es* meos terram quondam meam apud Novum Caſtru*m*[4] in Kemes D*omi*no Rob*er*to de Valle vendit*am* et quiet*am* clamat*am* de eodem D*omi*no Rob*er*to vel hered*ibus* ſuis eandem terram petere, obligo me et hered*es* meos ad ſoluc*ion*em centum librar*um* argenti p*re*fato D*omi*no Roberto vel hered*ibus* ſuis plenarie faciend*am* nomine puri debiti ſubijciens me et hered*es* meos cohercioni D*omi*ni Meneven*ſis* Epi*ſcop*i, qui pro tempore fuerit quod me et hered*es* meos compellat p*er* ſententiam excom-municationis et interdicti de die in diem faciend*am* ad dicte pecuniæ ſoluc*ion*em prefato D*omi*no Rob*er*to vel hered*ibus* ſuis plenarie faciend*am* ſine contradictione aliqua : Et quod idem Epi*ſcop*us habeat de bonis n*oſt*ris ſexaginta libras argenti pro diſtrinctione faciend*a*, volo et concedo me pendente petic*ion*e mea terr*am* memorat*am* eſſe excommunicat*am*, et ab omnibus tanq*ua*m excommunicat*am* evitari, Ita q*uo*d authoritate ap*oſto*lica, nec alterius prelati inferioris potero abſolvi, donec de dicta pecunia memorat*o* D*omi*no Roberto debite ſatiſſecero, et de petit*ion*e terre p*redicte* ceſſavero renuncians omni exceptione, Cavillationi regie prohibic*ion*i, et omni juris remedio, tam Canonico quam Civil*i*

Excomunication.

Reward for diſtr(aint).

[1] See note 6, p. 172, above.
[2] See note 12, p. 185, above.
[3] Roger the Carver.
[4] Little Newcastle.

q*uo*d mihi ſuper hijs appetere poſſit. In cuius Rei teſtimoniu*m* preſenti ſcripto ſigillu*m* meu*m* Appoſui hijs teſtibus D*omi*no *Galfrido de Rupe*,[1] *Simone Tank*, *Ph(ilipp)o Warlaghe*, *Dauid Warlagh*, *Waltero Lewell*, *Johanne Ryver* et alijs.[2]

[1] See note 6, p. 172, above.

[2] The witnesses to these last deeds seem to have been one or two persons of quality, and the rest peers of the grantors.

Fo. 86a, anc. 83a.

Of divers *generall & particuler Cuſtomes vſed & allowed of w^th^in the Countie of Penbrok aſwell temporall as Eccleſiaſticall.* Cap. 23.

For that there are ſome cuſtomes received, & allowed in gen*er*all throughe all or moſt part of the ſhire, yt were not vnfytte to ſpeake of them, letting the learned iudge of their validitie, as the lawe wyll. And firſt I will beginne w^th^ the tenantes of the Countrey, wherein I ſpeake in gen*er*all, includinge therein the greateſt nomber, w^ch^ in tymes paſt were tenantes at wyll, and fewe ſought leaſes, for moſt comonly the Landlord rather made ſuite for a good tenante to take his lande, then[1] the tenant to the Landlord, ſuch was the ſcarſitie of good tenant*es* in thoſe daies there to be found, that gladd was the lord to hitte vpon a good thriftie, and huſbandly tenante, and as for fynes to be paied, yt was not a thinge knowne among them a hundred yeares paſt ſavinge onelie in earneſt peny at the bargaine makinge, w^ch^ the plaine men called *a gods penie*,[2] and w^ch^ in these lx yeares the poore tenantes were wont to ſaie, that the payeing of fynes was an yll cuſtome raiſed among them of late, and furelie the letting of lands was of ſo ſmall comoditie, y^t^ I knowe lands in Copercy*n*nye[3] betweene heires, where the next to the land hath had the ſetting[4] and letting thereof theſe lx yeares, and more, the other contentinge himſelfe w^th^ his parte of the Rent, not eſteeminge what might be made by fines thereof. But this ancient good cuſtome w^th^in this 40. yeares paſt is ſore ſhaken, & allmoſt baniſht the Countrey; for nowe the poore tenante that lyved well in that golden world ys taught to ſinge vnto his Lord a newe ſonge, and the Landlords have learned the text of the damned diſciple, *Quid vultis mihi dare, et ego illum vobis tradam;*[5] and nowe the world ys ſo altered w^th^ y^e^ poore tenante, that he ſtandeth ſo in bodylie feare of his greedy neighbour, that ij or iij yeares eare[6] his leaſe end, he

Tenauntes at wille.

A God's peny

An euill cuſtome to paie fines for lands

[1] Than.

[2] This phrase appears in many writers of the age. The corresponding expression, *denier à Dieu*, is in common use in France in the sense of the earnest-money of a bargain (*e.g.*, in hiring rooms or engaging a servant).

[3] Coparcenery, *i.e.*, joint heirship.

[4] Offering. Cf. Ecclesiasticus, x, 9: 'Setteth his own soul to sale'.

[5] St. Matthew, xxvi, 15.

[6] Ere.

muſt bowe to his Lord for a newe leaſe, & muſt pinche yt out many yeares before to heape money together, ſo that in this age yt ys as eaſye for a poore tenante to marry ij of his daughters to his neighboures ſonnes, as to match him ſelfe to a good farme from his landlord.

†This uſe of tenantes at wyle,[1] was ſo common that there were manie other cuſtomes grounded vpon the ſame, for they were not tenant*es* at will at the Comon lawe to be put out at the lords wyll at any tyme of the yeare, but theſe were tenantes at will according to the Cuſtome of the Countrey, and were not removeable w^th^out ij lawfull warninges to be given at vſual feaſtes, that ys the one on our ladie Eve in March[2] the other at Maye Eve, and then was the old tenant at Mydſom*er* to remove out of the hall[3] houſe; and to leave yt to the newe tenante, and the paſture to be comon betweene them till Michaelmas, and then the old tenant to depart *cum pannis*,[4] and to leave yt wholye to the newe comer and diu*er*ſe orders there are duelie obſerved as yet amonge theſe tenantes, w^ch^ for brevities ſake I heere over paſſe. Fo. 86b, anc. 83b

Cuſtome of tenauntes at wille.

Theis kinde of tenant*es* by the cuſtome of the countrie were to paye heriottes at their death viz their beſt beaſt, and allſo were chardgeable to the repaire of their houſes hedg*es* &c, and therein ys obſerved an order worth the notinge, & for that the ſame hath ben about xij yeares paſt found and preſented before my ſelfe & other Commiſſion*er*s vpon a ſurvey[5] for the Queen's ma*ieſ*tie, yt laſt was, w^th^in this Countie, I thinke yt worth the Remembrance in this place w^ch^ is as followeth, if the tenant ſuffer his houſes, hedges or buildinges to growe ruynouſe, the landlord vſeth to ſweare a Jurie of ſixe of his tenantes of the like tenure and cuſtome, (whoſe turnes may be next to taſt of the like ſawce), to viewe the decaye, who muſt & ought accordingly upon their oathes preſent the ſame indifferentlye betweene the Lo: and tenante, w^ch^ done the Landlord by his bailliffe or reave[6] vſeth to arreſt ſo much of the tenantes goods vpon the land as ys found of decaye, and the ſame to keepe, if the tenante will not give ſuerties to anſwere[7] the goods, or to make the repaire; thoſe goods muſt be priced by the ſaied Jurie

34 *Eliz.*

The Cuſtome of tenauntes at wille for Repare.]

[1] Will. [2] March 24.

[3] The farmer's house as distinguished from the cottages; so used in Galloway. The chief house in the manor was in many parts of England called the 'hall house.

[4] Bag and baggage; literally 'with his clothes' (*avec ses hardes*).

[5] See page 136, above, note 2. [6] Officer.

[7] To satisfy. See *Henry IV*, Part 1, i, 3. Cf. the use of the Welsh *ateb*.

or two of them, or two other honeſt men, and then a reaſonable daie is to be given to the tenante for makinge of the repaire which if he doe not p*er*forme by the daie, then maye the landlord take ſo much of the tenantes goods as the Jurie hath found and ſell or keepe the ſame as him pleaſeth.

And if the ſaied Jurie ſo ſworne doe finde leſſe then the decaye ys in favour of the tenante, then maye the landlord ſweare a newe Jurie of ſixe other like tenantes, to enquire aſwell of the †Repaire as of the concealem*ente*s of the firſt Jurie, and if the ſecond Jurie finde more repaire and decaye, then the firſt Jurye dyd, then muſt the landlord levey ſo much money of the tenantes goodes as the first Jurie found, and deliv*er* the ſame to the ſaied Jurie, and then is the firſt Jurie to make the reſidue of the reparac*i*ons vpon their owne chardge, and the Lord by the ſaied cuſttome hath like remedie, and meane[1] to come by the repaire againſt the ſaied firſt Jurye, as he had before againſt the ten*au*nte.

Fo. 87a, anc. 84a.

Allſo the Lord by cuſtome vſed tyme out of minde in this countrye maie have his action of debt againſt the tenant and his executo*u*rs for the ſaied repaire, wherein I haue ſeene diu*er*ſe recover in my time, and the defft[2] in that action ſhall not wage his lawe for ſo much repaire as ys found by the Jurie: This cuſtome of repare held onelie for thatch't houſes, but for ſlate[3] houſes, the landlord*es* were to repaire them, except yt were by ſpeciall covenante, thus much haue I beene bold to inſert in this place, becauſe I haue been preſent where foure ſeu*er*all Juries have ſeuerallie, found the Cuſtomes aforeſaied in everie pointe vpon their oathe, and the ſame certified vp to thexcheq*ue*r at Weſtm*inſte*r, Of w^ch^ Jurors, being in the whole the nomber of xxxiiij^or^ p*er*ſons diu*er*ſe and moſt of them were gentlemen and freeholders of good diſcretion and lyvinge.

There is allſo a cuſtome vſed in the Courtes at the Comon lawe in this ſhire, w^ch^ I doe note heere, for that the ſame ys not vſed in other higher Courtes, w^ch^ is, that a plaintiffe in an action of debte vpon anie ſpecialtie, or other contracte, if the defft leeſe by defaulte or confeſſion in ſort,[4] then muſt the plt.[5] ſweare his debte before he ſhall haue Judgem*en*t, this ys not onely vſed in the meaner Courtes, but allſo in the higher.

Plaintiffes muſt ſweare their debts.

Comon amerce-ments.

In ancient tyme I allſo finde a cuſtome vſed in moſt large Coortes w^th^in the ſhire, that for matters preſentable or inquirable eyther in Coort baron or Coort leete, that the Comon Am*er*cem*en*t

[1] Method; cf. *Othello*, iii, 1. [2] Defendant. [3] Slated.
[4] Lose by default, or a kind of confession. [5] Plaintiff.

was vii$^{s.}$, let the treſpaſſe be great or ſmall, or the defalte of neceſſitie or willfull, this haue I ſeene vſed and allowed moſt in my time, but this ys much altered of late yeares and as I Judge vpon good reaſon in am*er*cinge everie man *ſecundum quantitatem delicti.*

†Allſo by a gen*er*all cuſtome of Penbrokeſhire all Courtes baron were holden and kept de xv$^{a.}$ in xv$^{am.}$,[1] and not from three weekes to three weekes as by the lawes of England ys allowed; Fo. 87b, anc. 84b. *Courte Barons de xva in quindena(m).*

There was in tymes paſt in ſome parte of this ſhire, eſpeciallie where gavelkinde was, a cuſtome vſed called *Rudwall cuſtome*[2] w^{ch} was that no action of treſpaſſe laye for paſture in open field*es* out of encloſures, w^{ch} cuſtome I my ſelfe remember to be much ſpoken of (though mightilie crack't[3]) in my yong yeares, this Cuſtome ſeemed ſomewhat reaſonable among the gavelkinde men, for that at eu*er*y deſcent the landes were ſhared,[4] and ſo the whole land of the Contrey grewe into ſmall peeces, ſo that of neceſſitie the owners muſt graſe in comon, and therefore ſome reaſon there was at the firſt for inducеing the ſame cuſtome, as allſo in Townredds, whoſe landes laye parted in Comon field*es* but this Cuſtome in moſt partes, as the land growe nowe to be entire ſoyles,[5] ys ſo allmoſt worne awaye, althoghe among ſome troubleſome people yt were good, theſaied cuſtome were reſtored to life, but for the gen*er*all, otherwiſe, And this cuſtome allthoughe yt be allmoſt aboliſhed yet remayneth the name, and terme thereof very vfuall among the Comon people, for that time of the yeare after harveſt, when all the neighbours cattle ronne together in the Comon fieldes they call *Rudwall* tyme, of this tearme *Rudwall* I haue ſpoken more before in the laſt chapter, as maie appeere.[6]/ *Rhodwall Cuſtome.*

[1] See p. 161, note 2, above.

[2] See p. 179, note 7, above.

[3] Broken ; cf. *King Lear*, i, 2.

[4] Gavelkind was abolished throughout Wales by 34 and 35 Henry VIII, cap. 26, ss. 91, 128 ; ten years before the author's birth.

[5] *I.e.*, now that individuals are coming to own their land in continuous blocks, and not in scattered strips, separated from each other by the holdings of other proprietors.

[6] See pp. 178-9, above, and note 7 on the latter page. John Lewis (*Camb. Reg.*, ii, 196) derives Rudwall from *Rhyddfal*, which he says means 'to wander', and jeers at the author's ignorance of Welsh. Fenton (p. 346) suggests *Rhydywal*, which he interprets 'to run at large'. As pointed out by Canon Silvan Evans, these words are probably dialectic forms of *rhodfel* (from *rhod-io*, and with the termination *-fel* as in *cad-fel*, etc.), which, though not known itself to occur, is found, with the common infinitive termination *-a*, in the rare word *rhodfela*, 'to wander', used in the following passage of the *Hanes Dafydd ap Gwilym*, printed in *Iolo MSS.*, p. 93 : "Dafydd ap Gwilym yn dianc drwy 'r

wemens thyrds of Chattells.

There goeth allſo a reporte of a Cuſtome for weomen to haue the thirds[1] of all their huſbands goods and leaſes, and many haue yt w^th^out deniall, but this cuſtome hath beene of late ſore ſhaken, and yet languiſheth verie weake ; hardlye like to Recover, excepte the weomen of our Contrey wold erect an Inne of Court, and ſtudie the lawe to defend their comon cauſe, wherein I wold thinke they were like to profytte, for that there are of them manie ripe wyttes, and all readye tongues.[2]/.

Fo. 88a, anc. 85a.

Althoughe there be manie p*ar*ticuler cuſtomes vſed in ſondry places for payeing of tythes, w^th^ w^ch^ it is not my purpoſe to deale, yet ys yt not impertinent to ſpeake of ſome gen*er*allie †vſed throughe out the whole ſhire and liked and allowed of all handes ; Such is the

Teith Cheeſe.

payeing of tithe cheeſe by payeinge onely 1x^en^ cheeſes for all the yeare viz. three for eu*er*y moneth of Maye, June, and Juelie for all tyth of milke, butter and cheeſe for all the yeare, and doe not paye *decimas de lacte*, as by lawe ys due/.

Teith for Calues and Coultes.

They allſo paye noe tithe calves nor coltes, but a ob[3] for eu*er*y bullocke, heyfer, and fillye at a yeare old, and 1^d^ for everie horſe colte of that age/

Teith for Piggs Kidds & Geeſe.

Allſo one tithinge pigge for every farrowe[4] after the firſt be their pigges fewe or manie, one gooſe and one kydd of euerye owner, if he haue ij or vpward, of theſe Eccleſiaſticall cuſtomes

haint [chwarren] a ddaeth yn ol i Faeshaleg, ond gan nad oedd yno nag Ifor na Nest myned a wnaeth ar Amdaith i *rodfela* Cymru, ag hyd ym Mon ag Arfon, ag ar ei droion ym Morganwg." ('Dafydd ab Gwilym, escaping the plague [which had been fatal to his patrons, Ivor and Nest], went back to Maes Aleg, but as neither Ivor nor Nest were there, he went on a tour to *wander over* Wales, as far as Anglesey and Arfon, and on his rounds in Morganwg.')

It has also been suggested that the word *Rudwall* might be a corruption of *Rundale* or *Runntail* (also called *Runrig*), a survival of the open-field system in Scotland and Ireland, 'whereby a whole townland or smaller area is held in common by the people of the village, and shared among them in rough equality by dividing it up into a large number of small pieces, of which each holder takes one here and another there' (Seebohm's *English Village Community*, p. 228 ; see also Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, iii, 378, etc.); but this does not denote the same thing as the 'Rudwall custom'.

[1] The widow's 'reasonable part' in her husband's goods and chattels was barred for Wales and the Marches by 7 and 8 Will. III, cap. 38. The custom survived some time longer in the province of York and in the city of London.

[2] The author was twice married. Compare his remarks on the epicene specimens of the sex at p. 177, above.

[3] *I.e.*, *obolus*, 'a halfpenny', as suggested by Mr. Laws (*Little England beyond Wales*, p. 250). Cf. p. 91, note 3, above.

[4] Litter. See *Macbeth*, iv, 1.

I might write a whole volume but this ſhall ſuffice for this place.[1]

[1] The author mentions in the *Baronia* (pp. 44-45) certain payments to the lord of Kemes. Within the barony: *prise ale*, for every brewing, 'most comonly gathered in Sainte Meygans faire', *fare free*, called *Ymado* (*i.e.*, 'departing'), for tenants departing without notice. 'Within Eglosserow onely': *Arian Eredig*, or *Plowe monye*, for right of ploughing; and *Pecunia viæ*, alias *arian y vidir*, for a right of way. A copy of the whole section, down to the end of the paragraph on 'Turfe Heriottes, called *Marw twarchen*', in the handwriting of the author, will be found at fo. 233 of another Bronwydd MS. The *gabelsum* of the printed text (p. 44) is a blunder for *gabellum*. For St. Meygan's Fair, see p. 143, note 3 (and cf. p. 100, note 2), above. *Vidir* is for *veidir*, *i.e.*, *veidr*, from *meidr*, the word for 'a lane' in Pembrokeshire Welsh. It occurs in place-names, *e.g.*, Pen y *Feidir* or Pen *Feidir*, the name of places in Trefgarn, Llanwnda, Llan y Chaer, Egremont, Ambleston, and Llanfyrnach, and Pen y *Foydyr* in Verwig, near Cardigan; and Canon Silvan Evans informs us that he has heard the word used in Pembrokeshire, and pronounced *feidir*. In N.W. Wales and Cardiganshire a lane is *lôn*, from the dialectic (*e.g.*, Cheshire) English *lone* = 'lane', and in Powys *wtra* or *wtre*, a word of uncertain origin.

Since the above was written, Professor Rhys has suggested that *meidr* or *meidyr* is a variant of an older **moudr* (or **boudr*), which would be the Welsh representative of the Irish *bóthar*, 'a road', the diminutive of which is well known in an Anglicized form as *boreen* (for *bohereen*), 'a lane'; the *a* of *bóthar* being possibly an 'irrational' vowel.

The form *foydyr* (for an older **foudr*) occurs on some of the Ordnance Maps, just as does *-foygan* for *-feigan* in Llanfeigan and Pistyll Meigan (for which see p. 100, note 2, and p. 143, note 3, above); while *Llanboydy* (for *Llan y Beudy*) is found in the same district, and no such form as *Llanbeudy* is known to the writer. The phonetic changes indicated by these various forms (including our author's *vidir*) seem to be the same as those by virtue of which *beunydd* becomes in S. Cardiganshire *boynydd*, *treulio*, *troylo*, or *creulon*, *croylon*, which last word in central Glamorganshire is pronounced *crīlon*; so the river-name which in Glam. is pronounced *Clidach*, and written *Clydach*, was in mediæval Welsh often written *Cleudach* (as in the charter of 1207-8, printed in G. G. Francis' *Neath Charters*), and is still so pronounced on the upper Usk in Breconshire, where there are three streams of the name spelt on the Ordnance Map *Clydach*, the largest of which is called *Cloutac* in *Lib. Land.*, p. 146. One of the Glamorganshire Clydachs is called *Cleudach* in a grant to the 'fratres de Pendar' (*i.e.*, Margam Abbey), of which a transcript by Hugh Thomas of Brecon is to be found in Harl. MS. 6831, fo. 195[a], whence it is printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon* (ed. 1825), vi, 1630, and there attributed to a non-existing monastery of Pendar in Radnorshire. Another *Cleudach*, a tributary of the Cothi, is mentioned in Dugdale's *Monasticon* (1825), iv, 162[a], 163[b]. The forms *Cludach*, *Clydach*, occur in a charter of 1468, printed by Francis, *op. cit.*; for the Pembrokeshire Clydachs, see pp. 97, 101, above The author, in his 'Pembrock and Kemes' MS., fo. 2[a], calls one of these Clydachs 'Clydafe' and 'Clydaghe'.

Fo. 88b, anc. 85b.

That *Penbrokeſhire was in Ancient tyme a Countye Palatyne, and noe parte of the Principallitie of* Wales, *wth a true deſcription of the Principallite of* Wales, *what the ſame was, how it cam firſt to the Kinges of England, and when: where allſo is briefely touched the firſt ſubdueing of all* Wales *and by whome.* Cap. 24.

In treating of the matter nowe in hand, yt requireth to ſpeake not onelie of the firſt erectinge of this ſhire to be a Countie Pallatine, but allſo to define, what a Countye Pallatyne ys, and howe the ſame ys knowne; as likewiſe of neceſſitie muſt be ſpoken herein of the firſt ſubdueinge of all the Principallitie, and Countrie of *Wales* to the Crowne of England, and how the ſame was reduced into ſhires from tyme to tyme, firſt into two ſhires, then by adding ſixe more, and laſtelie makinge the whole xiij ſhires, wherein allthoughe I finde myſelfe vnable everye waie to treate of a matter of ſuch importance, and antiquitie, requiringe a man well experienced in the ſtudie of the lawes of this Realme the Ancient lawes of *Wales*, and well converſed in[1] the ancient hiſtories of the countreye, and laſtelie well ſeene[2] in the Records, and antiquities of the ſame, wch matters being handled as ſhold be ffittinge, would amount to a volume of yt ſelfe: yet being drawne to ſpeake of yt in this place I will (ſubmyttynge myſelfe to the cenſures of my ſuperiours and maiſters herein) ſpeake ſomething brieflye touching the ſame, the rather for that I haue not ſeene any, that hath as yet taken the ſame in hand.

And nowe to ſpeake of the firſt ſubdueing of Wales therein as our eſtate in England by reaſon of the great alteration that enſued in this Realme by the cominge of *William* the *Conqueror*, that the begynning of his Raigne is the Period or fartheſt Promontorye of the certaine antiquities of this Realme in gen*er*all (allthoughe

[1] Conversant with

[2] Skilled. Cf. Shakespeare, *Taming of the Shrew*, i, 2, 'Well seen in musick.'

I acknowledge good warrant for manie matters diu*er*ſe hundred yeares before) yet *rebus ſic ſtantibus* the conqueſt ys the fartheſt ſerche for matters autentique of Record, from thence, and long after begynneth the certaynetye of our Lawes, and ſtatutes, th'erectinge of our Coortes of Juſtice, the buildinge of Churches, Monaſteryes and Caſtles nowe †ſtanding, ſo farre doe moſt of our Nobillitie, Fo. 89a, anc. 86a. and gentrye content themſelves w^th^ their diſcentes, and armes, honors, and originall, and therefore there will I allſo begynne my originall of the ſtate of *Wales*, and therein fall into my determyned matter[1] to ſpeake of *Penbrokshire*.

And therefore yo^u^ muſt vnderſtand, that at or ſhortelie after y^e^ cominge of *William the Conquerour* to England, there lyved in *Wales* together at one tyme three chieffe princes, that was prince *Rees ap tewdwr*, ruling Southwales, *Griffith ap Kynon* prince of Northwales, and *Blethyn ap Kynvyn* prince of Powys, all diſcended from the Ancient kinges of Brittayne & Princes of that Countrey, betweene and vnder theſe princes or king*es* was all Wales governed,[2] for allthoughe *William y^e^ Conqueror* came to the Crowne of England by one dayes worke at the battle of Haſtinges, and ſo enioyed England w^th^ ſmall paynes yet wold the princes of *Wales* never acknowledge him nor his Iſſue after him for their Soue*r*aignes, but contynuallie held and bare themſelves as abſolute, and ſupreame princes & kinges over their dominions, acknowledging none their ſuperior vnder god: and about this there grewe no ſmall ſturre,[3] betweene the kinges of England, and theſe princes, in ſo much as the welſhe men ſpoyled the borders of England adioyninge vnto *Wales*, and w^ch^ in former tyme had beene parcell of *Wales* lyeinge on this ſide the Seavarne, to the great damage of the Engliſhe ſubject*es*, whereupon the kings of England haue beene forced to take armes for defence of their ſubjectes, againſt the princes of *Wales*, purpoſinge by open hoſtillitie to ſubdue

[1] *I.e.*, return to my original purpose.

[2] Rhys ap Tewdwr succeeded in 1077, and was slain in 1091. Bleddyn ap Cynvyn succeeded in 1068 (on the death of his brother Rhiwallon) and was slain in 1073. Gruffudd ap Cynan died in 1137; he had vindicated his right to the sovereignty of N. Wales by his victory at Carn Mountain (*not* Carno, as Powel, the *Gwentian Chronicle*, and their uncritical followers wrongly call it) in 1079. These dates are those of the Rolls Edition of the *Annales Cambriæ*; the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* says that Bleddyn and Rhiwallon were appointed by Edward the Confessor to rule over Wales on the assassination of their (half-)brother, Gruffudd ap Llywelyn, in 1063.

[3] Some such old form of the word *stir* seems to be the origin of the modern Welsh *stwr*, 'a noise'.

them and their Countrey to their ſubiection, and having ſlayne[1] prince *Rees ap Tewdwr* king of *Wales* ever after the kinges of England pretended to haue conquered the kingdome of all *Wales*, but that the people of the Countrie would neu*er* accept the kinges of England as their kinge, but ſtill w^th^ſtood them, allwaies chooſing ſome prince of their owne: and as the hiſtories of our Realme doe teſtifie, the ſaied kinges of England, havinge marched w^th^ their Armies Royall to the borders of *Wales*, the princes there with their people (as the hiſtories affirme) being fledd into the mounteynes and woodds, where the Engliſhe Soldiours cold not followe nor approache by reaſon of the woodds, and Rockes, the kinge w^th^ his armyes haue beene forced to retire w^th^out doing of anie great exploite,† which being diu*er*ſe times attempted by diu*er*ſe king*es* being ſtill forced to retire w^th^ loſſe; in the end this pollicie was deviſed to ſubdue the welſhemen w^th^ leſſe chardge of the kinges of England: having firſt placed great and mightie Earles in the Engliſhe townes next bordering to *Wales* as *Bristoll*, *Gloucester*, *Worcester*, *Salop* and *Chester*, the Kinge of England wold allſo give to theſe, and diu*er*ſe other of his noblemen of England being of great power, certaine Countries in *Wales* of certaine of the Lordes there, if the Engliſhe Lords could ſubdue the ſame, & keepe yt./ And by theſe meanes came *S^r^ Robert fitzhamon*, and his xij knightes to the countrey of *Glamorgan*,[4]

W. Rufus Po. fo. 53.[2]

H. 2. *ter armatus Walliam ingreſſus est. Girald. fo.* 212.[3] *Po. fo.* 120.

Po. fo. 120 *Rex. Jo: ſuper Lewelin ap Yoroth: Po: fo:* 264.

H: 3: *ſuper Lewelin ap Griffith: fo:*

Fo. 89b, anc. 86b.

Wales geeven by the Kings of England to them that coulde wynne it./

[1] Rhys was defeated and slain by Norman adventurers, whom his own countrymen had called in against him, in 1090 or 1091.

[2] Powel's *History of Wales*. The reference is meant to be to the first edition (1584), but '53' is certainly wrong, and p. '153' is meant (see the 1774 edition, p. 118); the reference to p. 264 is correct, and so apparently is that to p. 120, where the invasion of Glamorganshire is referred to.

[3] The reference is to Powel's edition of 1585; see Gerald's *Works*, vi, 137-8. The subject of the passage is Henry II's three unsuccessful expeditions into Wales, first, in 1157, when he was defeated by Owen Gwynedd in Coed Cennadlog, on the banks of the Dee estuary, between Basingwerk and Flint, and thence proceeded to Rhuddlan, while his fleet was repulsed from Anglesea (see *Annales Cambriæ* under 1158, *Brut y Tywysogion* under 1156): secondly, in 1163, when he penetrated to Pencader (now chiefly known as a railway junction), on the border of Emlyn in Dyfed and Cantref Mawr in Ystrad Tywi, in his advance against Rhys ap Gruffudd (see *Annales* under 1164, *Brut* under 1162): and thirdly, in 1165, when he marched from Oswestry against the united forces of Gwynedd, Powys, and Deheubarth, to Coed Ceiriog and the Berwyns (see *Annales* under 1166, *Brut* under 1164).

[4] The 15th or 16th-century tract on the *Winning of the Lordship of Glamorgan* is printed in Powel's *History of Wales* (ed. 1584, pp. 124-141). It is of course not a strictly historical account of the conquest. (See Clark's *Land of Morgan*, p. 18.) A Welsh version of the story will be found in the *Gwentian Chronicle* (ed. *Camb. Arch. Association*, 1864, p. 68, etc.).

Barnard Newmarch[1] to the *Lp̄.* of *Brecknock*, *Strongbowe* to *ye Countrie of Dyvet*[2] *or Penbrokshire: William Martin*[3] to *ye Countrie of Kemes: The Earles of Chester* to *Angleſey*[4]: *Paen fitz John*, and the *Lacies* to *Ewyas*[5]: *Richard Earle of Clare* to

[1] In about 1093. (See Gerald's *Works*, vi, 28, etc.) He married Nest, granddaughter of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn, King of Wales (slain in 1063).

[2] Dyfed (see pp. 45-6, etc., pp. 165-6, text and notes, above) varied in extent, but never was so small as to be co-extensive with modern Pembrokeshire. The false idea that Dyfed and Pembrokeshire were convertible terms seems primarily traceable to Humphrey Lhuyd and Sir John Price's *Description of Wales*, written in about 1559. See p. 17 of the edition printed in Powel's *History of Wales*, 1584; a still more incorrect theory, viz., that *Arfon* and *Carnarvonshire* (see note 2 on p. 214, below) are terms covering the same area, is found *ib.*, p. 8. Needless to say that both errors have been swallowed whole by nearly three centuries and a half of *soi-disants* antiquaries, historians, and scholars, Welsh, English, and foreign. See Loth's *Mabinogion* (1889), i, 80, note 4; and also *Y Cymmrodor*, xi, 56, note 6 (where in line 4 of paragraph 2 the word 'that' is to be corrected into 'that nearly'; for Velfrey, now in Pembrokeshire, was in Cantref Gwarthaf—see notes 2 on pp. 45, 48, above).

In the beginning of the twelfth century the eastern frontier of Dyfed was (roughly speaking) a line drawn from the Towy at Carmarthen to the Teifi at Llangeler, and including within Dyfed both those parishes, and likewise those of Penboyr, Trellech, and Abernant. Previously to *circa* 750 Dyfed included Cantref Mawr, *i.e.*, the remainder (the portion E. of the said boundary-line) of modern Carmarthenshire north of Towy. We know of no evidence that *in post-Roman times* Dyfed included any part of Ceredigion (now Cardiganshire), as sundry authorities, great and small, still vainly talk.—E. P.

[3] On p. 36, above, and elsewhere, he is called 'Martin Towres', or Martin of Tours.

[4] See *Brut y Tywysogion* under the year 1096, *Annales Cambriæ* under 1098, for Hugh of Chester's invasion of Anglesea. See also Gerald's *Itin.*, ii, 7 (*Works*, vi, 128-9), where the author has confused Hugh of Chester and Hugh de Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury, the joint leaders of the expedition.

[5] See Gerald's *Itinerary*, i, 2, 3 (*Works*, vi, 34-7), for 'Paganus filius Johannis' and Ewias. This district, bounded on the E. by the river Dore (in Welsh *Dofr*; spelt *Dour*, = *Dovr*, in *Lib. Land.*, 73, 154, 164, 183), is now mainly included in Herefordshire, and has left its name to the parish of *Ewyas* Harold, in Welsh once called *Map Harallt* (see Leland's *Itin.*, 1769, viii, 84). Ewyas, in Welsh called *Euas* (but spelt *Eugias*, *Ewyas*, in *Lib. Land.*, pp. 187, 237, etc.), also included Oldcastle, Cwm Yoy, and Llanthony (see Gerald, *loc. cit.*, p. 37), which are situate in a long strip of Monmouthshire, wedged in between Herefordshire and Brecknockshire. The detached portion of Herefordshire by which this strip is mostly bounded on its western side, extending to the Grwyne Fawr river (cf. note 12 on p. 65, above), and known as Ffawyddog, or 'The Beechy' (corrupted into Ffwddog, or, *Anglicè*, *Fwthog*), was perhaps also in Ewias; for along the western boundary of the Fwthog is a *Coed Dias*, said to stand for *Coed Euas*, 'The Wood of Ewias'. Ewyas was divided into the lordships of Ewyas Lacy and Ewyas Harold (Price's *Description of Wales*, ed. 1584, p. 22; 27 Henry VIII, c. 26, s. 12).—E. P.

Cardiganshire, Maurice de Londres to *Kydwelye and Carnowllon*,[1]

[1] Kidwelly, a commot of the third Cantred of Ystrad Tywi (said to have been called *Cantref Eginog*), was in Welsh called *Cedweli* (*Cadweli* also occurs), which is a tribal name regularly formed from the personal name *Cadwal*, just as the district-name of *Arwystli* (in western Montgomeryshire, including Llanidloes) was formed from the name *Arwystl* (see *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 22, and *Y Cymmrodor*, viii, 84, No. V). The district of *Cedweli* was comprised in the angle between the lower course of the Towy and the sea, and bounded on the E. by Carnwyllon and Is Cennen (the last a commot of Cantref Bychan).

The town of Kidwelly has taken its name from the Norman castle around which it first grew, and the castle was called 'the castle of Kidwelly' from the district in which it was situate. The same transfer, due to the same process, of an old Welsh district-name to a town in that district, has taken place in the cases of Builth (from *Buellt* or *Buallt;* the town is called in Welsh *Llanfair* [*ym*] *Muallt*, and locally simply *Llanfair*), Cardigan (from *Ceredigion*), Pembroke (from Old-Welsh *Penbrog*, now *Penfro*), Brecknock (from *Brycheiniog*), Maesyfed (the Welsh name of New Radnor; see note 2 on p. 202, below) from *Maes Hyfaidd*, and probably Laugharne from *Talacharn* (see note 3 on p. 206, below). There were other Norman castles named from Welsh districts (such as that of Mabwynion, in the parish of Llanarth, near the Cardiganshire coast) which have left nothing but their site and their memory behind. A modern illustration of the principle by which the name of a castle is first transferred to the town which it brought into existence, and subsequently abbreviated, is to be found in the movement now on foot to change the name of Newcastle Emlyn (itself short for 'Newcastle in Emlyn') to 'Emlyn'. In the case of Chepstow Castle, first called in Welsh, after the district in which it lay, 'Castell *Gwent*', this name, in the form Cas-Gwent, is now used in Welsh for the *town* of Chepstow without further abbreviation (see note 1 on p. 209, below).

Carnwyllon (*Cornoguatlaun*, *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 22) lay between Cedweli and Gwyr or Gower (the western boundary of which is the river Llwchwr) and included Llanelly. The old name is preserved in that of two places called 'Carnawllon' and 'Carnawllon Fach', near Pont y Berem on the Gwendraeth Fawr. In the printed edition of the *Chartulary of St. Peter's, Gloucester* (Rolls Series, 1867), 'Llanelli in Carnwyllon' appears (both in text and index) under the extraordinary alias of 'ecclesia Sancti Elmi [leg. *Elini*] *in Carnarvan*' (i, 285). Elsewhere (ii, 230) it appears as 'Ecclesia Sancti Eclini in Carnewothan', and the name of the district as *Carwarlan* (i, 285) or *Carwatlan* (iii, 32).

Gower lay between the rivers Llwchwr and Tawe, Brycheiniog, and the sea, was in Ystrad Tywi, but is now in Glamorganshire, and answered in area to the modern hundreds of Swansea or Gower ('English Gower'; which alone is meant by 'Gower' in modern usage) and (part at least of that of) Llangyfelach ('Welsh Gower'). There is a place in South Gower, belonging to Sir Hussey Vivian, called 'Park Le *Breos*' in memory of the ancient lords of Gower.

Anciently Cedweli, Carnwyllon, and Gower were the three commotes making up the third cantred of *Ystrad Tywi* (the others being Cantref Mawr and Cantref Bychan). But there was some later division, according to which the lowest of the three commots of Cantref Bychan, that of Is Cennen (the Cennen joins the Tywi opposite Llandeilo Fawr), was substituted for 'Gower' in the

the *Lo: Grey to Dyffryn Clwyd and Ruthyn*[1]*: Lacie Earle of Lincolne to the Countrey of Roos and Ryvoniog*,[2] *the Earles Warren to the Lordship of Bromefield, Yale and Dinasbrane*[3]*: Brewys to the*

grouping ; it is this division (technically known as the *Tri Chwmwd* or 'Three Commots': see *Iolo MSS.* 69, 70 ; *ib.*, 23, where *Gwyr* is loosely used to include Gower *and* the *Tri Chwmwd ;* 63 ; and 127, where Is Cennen is used as distinct from Cantref Bychan) which forms the *Swydd Gydweli* (misprinted *Gydwell*) of *Myv. Arch.*, ii, 623. On the other hand, the Deanery of Kidwelly consisted of Cedweli and Carnwyllon, but did *not* include Is Cennen ; it included the parish of Llangyndeyrn (a daughter-church to Llandyfaelog), but not that of Llanddarog, which was in the Deanery of Ystrad Tywi (later that 'of Llandeilo and Llangadock'), and therefore in Cantref Bychan. See *Tax. Eccl.*, 272-3, and Browne Willis' *Parochiale Anglicanum* (1733), p. 189.—E. P.

[1] The ancient cantred of Dyffryn Clwyd represented, at least approximately, the older principality of Dogfeiling, or Dogfeiliog, the last prince of which, Meurig (also called *Cynwrig* and *Cowryd*) ap Elaeth, descended from *Dogfael* ap Cunedda Wledig, is called *Brenin Dyffryn Clwyd* (see *Y Cymmrodor*, viii, 90, No. L ; Cardiff copy of *Hanesyn Hên*, p. 81 ; and Harl. MS. 3,325, fo. 129[a]). Roughly speaking, it included the whole of the upper basin of the Clwyd down to near Denbigh, Ruthin being the principal place within its borders. The Deaneries of Dyffryn Clwyd and Cinmerch formed till 1859 an isolated part of the diocese of Bangor, surrounded on all sides by that of St. Asaph.—E. P.

[2] Rhôs and Rhufoniog (a name derived from the personal name Rhufawn, itself borrowed from the Lat. *Romanus*) are the districts situated (roughly speaking) between the lower courses of the rivers Clwyd and Conwy and the sea. Rhôs was the strip along the sea, and Rhufoniog further inland towards the Hiraethog range (Yspytty Ifan, anciently called Dol Gynwal, Gwytherin and Llansannan, for instance, were in Rhufoniog). Both districts are now in Denbighshire, except Creuddyn, the westernmost of the three commotes of Rhôs (it includes Llandudno), which is in Carnarvonshire.

[3] The chief place in the Lordship of *Bromfield* is Wrexham ; the Deanery of Bromfield and Yale in 1535 also included (besides Yale) Erbistock, Ruabon, Gresford, and Marchwiel or Marchwiail (*Valor Eccl.*, iv, 445-6) ; it formed part of the old Welsh cantred of Maelor (Leland's *Itin.*, v, 16), and is now in Denbighshire.

The district of Iâl (Anglicised *Yale*, which became a well-known family name) contained the parishes of Llanarmon yn Iâl, Llanferres, Llandegla, Bryneglwys, and Llandyssilio on Dee, and lay mostly on and about the upper course of the river Alun ; its limits to the S.W. are marked by places called *Blaen Iâl* and *Coed Iâl*. It anciently formed a commot of the cantred of Ystum Dyfrdwy, or 'The Bend of Dee' (see Leland's *Itin.*, v, 16), the other commots of which, those of *Yr Hob*, or *Hobeu* ('The Hope', or 'The [two] Hopes'), and *Ystrad Alun* ('Alyn-dale') or Moldsdale (see Leland's *Itin.*, v, 37) are now represented respectively by the *old* parish of Mold (including Nerquis and Treiddyn) and the parish of Hope, also called Queen Hope, East Hope (to distinguish it from Northop or Llaneurgain), Estyn (probably from the *Exestan* of Domesday Book), and Llangyngar (see *Bye-Gones* for 1889-90, pp. 536-7) ; this parish consists of *two* divisions, Hope Medachiad and Hope Owen. These two commots are now in Flintshire, whereas Iâl (all but the township of Bodidris in

Lordships of Gower,[1] *Buelt, Radnor, Melenyth and Elvell,*[2] *and the*

Llanarmon, which is in Flintshire) is now in Denbighshire. Originally this cantred formed a part of Powys Fadog.

Dinas Brân (very probably called so from the legendary Brân ap Llyr, who is connected with Saith Marchog in Gwyddelwern, not far off—see Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 35—there is also a Gorsedd *Brân* in Nantglyn and a Llyn *Llymbran* = *Llyn Brân*, just below it, whence flows the river *Brenig*) is the well-known castle in the parish of Llangollen, but on the opposite or northern bank of the Dee ; it gives its name (in an older form) to *Dinbran* (for *Din Brân*) one of the townships of Llangollen parish. The parishes of Llangollen, Chirk (in Welsh *Y Waun*), and Llansantffraid Glyn Ceiriog, were in the Welsh commot of Nanheudwy, bounded on the E. by the Lordships of Bromfield and Oswestry, and on the other sides by Cynllaith, Glyn Dyfrdwy or Edernion, and Iâl.—E. P.

[1] See note 1 on p. 200, above, and notes 1 on pp. 208, 216, below.

[2] *Buellt* or *Buallt* (see note 1 on p. 200 above), anciently a principality (see Stevenson's *Nennius*, §§ 48-9, 73), answers to the modern Hundred of Builth ; it formed no part of Brycheiniog, but is now included therewith to make up Brecknockshire. The Lordship of Radnor comprised a district round the town of New Radnor, consisting, partly at least, of the little Welsh district of Maesyfed (a corruption of *Maes Hyfedd* = *Hyfaidd*), whence that town is still called *Maesyfed* in Welsh (*Old* Radnor is or was called Pen Craig or Pen y Graig : see Leland's *Itin.*, v, 4; Camden's *Britannia*, 1st ed., 1586, p. 354 ; *Arch. Camb.* for 1856, p. 158, and for 1858, p. 239).

Elfael was the district embraced within the bend of the Wye between Builth and Whitney, extending N. as far as the confluence of the Ithon (in Welsh *Ieithon*), and thence marching with Gwrtheyrnion (or Gwerthrynion) and Maelienydd. Gerald (see, *e.g.*, *Works*, i, 31-5) frequently calls Elfael *Eluein* or *Eleuein* (it is written so in the original MSS.), the origin, and indeed authenticity, of which form is not clear.

Maelienydd (which has become *Melenydd*, Anglicised *Melennith*) was N. of Elfael, and stretched as far as the Teme, including Knighton ; while N. of the Teme (see Leland, *Itin.*, 1769, v, 3) lay the Lordship of *Clun* (cf. p. 51, above), in Welsh *Colunwy*, probably equivalent to the ancient Welsh commot of Dyffryn Tefeiddiad or Tefeiddiog (see *Brut y Tywysogion* under 1233 ; *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 329), *i.e.*, 'the Vale of Teme', a river anciently called in English *Temede*, *Temde* (see Leland's *Itin.*, iv, 179b), and in Welsh apparently *Tefaidd* or *Tefedd*, though William of Worcester (*Itin.*, p. 320) calls the river itself '*Tavidiot* aqua', and Dr. John David Rhys, in the last paragraph of the Welsh preface to his Grammar (1592), speaks of Bugeildy (on the Radnorshire side of the Teme) as 'y Bugeildy ynn Nyphryn *Tabhîda*' (*i.e.*, Bugeildy in the Vale of Teme) ; the Welsh commot-name seems echoed in the English district-name *Temp*-siter. The Lordship of Clun is now part of Shropshire, the districts of and about Radnor, Maelienydd (except Ceri, which included Kerry and Moughtrey or *Mochdre*, now in Montgomeryshire), and Elfael, are in Radnorshire, all but a small fringe of them, which is in Herefordshire. The boundaries between England and Wales, here and elsewhere, in no way mark the limits within which Welsh and English were spoken 350 years ago, when the modern Welsh counties were formed.

Rhayader (in Welsh *Rhaiadr Gwy*) was the chief place in the commot of

Gwrtheyrnion (now in Radnorshire), which extended southwards to the boundary of Elfael at the Ithon, and was sometimes, but not always, considered as included in Maelienydd, which district, in its narrower sense, bounded it to the E. Gerald (*Itin.*, i, 1 ; *Works*, vi, 18) seems guilty of a slight topographical mistake when he speaks of 'Castellum de Raidergoe *juxta* Warthrenniaun'. On the other side of the Wye is the commot of Cwmwd Deuddwr (now *Comtoyddwr*, wrongly thought to be from '*Cwm* Deuddwr'), consisting of the parish of Llansantffraid, and more or less identical with the ancient Elenydd (see Gerald, *Works*, i, 117, where *Ruella* is a mistake for *Buella*, *i.e.*, *Buellt;* iv, 152; vi, 119, etc.), so called from its chief river, the Elain or Elan ; it now forms part of Radnorshire (see 27 Henry VIII, c. 26, s. 6). The inclusion of Gwrtheyrnion in Arwystli, which bounded it to the N., made by some of the lists of Welsh cantreds and commots (see, *e.g.*, *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 328), is due ultimately to a clerical error, by which Gwrtheyrnion was bracketed with the commots of Arwystli instead of with the immediately following ones of Maelienydd.

Maelienydd, Elfael, and Gwrtheyrnion, were once considered (see *Descriptio Cambriæ*, i, 1, in Gerald's *Works*, vi, 165) as part of Powys, the traditional southern boundary of which was 'Rhyd Helyg ar Wy', now called 'The Helig Ford', on the Wye, between Glasbury and Hay (not Walford, near Ross, as wrongly supposed by Sir R. C. Hoare in his *Giraldus*, ii, 255). Later on they came to be considered as a distinct division, under the name of *Rhwng Gwy a Hafren*, or 'Between Wye and Severn' (which does *not* indicate in Welsh, as is often wrongly supposed, the district between Offa's Dyke and the Severn !). See Gerald's *Itin.*, i, 1 (*Works*, vi, 19), *De Rebus a se Gestis*, i, 5, 6 (*Works*, i, 30, 35). The claim of the See of St. David's to Ceri (as to which see Gerald, *Works*, i, 35) was made by virtue of the fact that the latter formed part of Rhwng Gwy a Hafren (as distinct from Powys in its more restricted sense).

From about the 9th or 10th century Rhwng Gwy a Hafren was ruled over by the descendants of Elystan Glodrydd and Iorwerth Hirflawdd, from whom was named the Powysian tribe of Iorwerthion. They were represented in Gerald's time by his relation (see his *Works*, i, 31, etc.) Cadwallon ap Madog, whose pedigree may be found in the Cardiff copy of *Hanesyn Hên*, p. 70.

In the beginning of the 9th century Gwrtheyrnion and Buellt (now the Hundred of *Builth*, on the other side of the Wye) formed a kingdom by themselves (see Stevenson's *Nennius*, § 48-9), the rulers of which traced their descent, not to any Powysian tribe, but to Pasgen, son of Gwrtheyrn, or Vortigern, which Pasgen is said to have ruled over the same two districts. Hence there was a tendency in later times to group Buallt with the countries Rhwng Gwy a Hafren ; see *e.g.*, *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 328-9, and cf. Oxford *Bruts*, p. 409.

For a list of the mesne manors of the Lordship of Maelienydd (some of which answer to the old Welsh commots) see Jonathan Williams' *History of Radnorshire* in *Arch. Camb.* for 1857, p. 184. Here the 'Manor of Rhayader' corresponds to part of the Commot of Gwrtheyrnion. One of the manors there mentioned, that of 'Gladestre, alias Glandestre' (including the parishes of Gladestry and Colfa), was included in the Deanery of Elfael (see *Tax. Eccl.*, 274[a]) ; it answers to the Welsh commot whose original name, mis-spelt in various ways, seems to have been *Llwyth Dyfnog*, whence Gladestry was called in Welsh 'Llanfair *Llythynwg* (see *Lewis Dwnn*, i, 254, 266) or *Llethonow* (*Arch. Camb.* for 1857, p. 330) ; the old lists of cantreds variously include the commot of 'Llwythyfnwc' in Elfael (Leland's *Itin.*, v, 17 ; *Y Cymmrodor*, ix,

Earles of Arundell to Mochnant Kynlleth,[1] *Rayadr Clon*[2] *and Osestree*[1]. and other landes in *Wales* & diuerſe other great men to diuerſe other Countreys, and great Lp̄s in *Wales:* and to the end that the ſaied Lords ſhold aſwell be the more willinge to thoſe attemptes, as allſo the better able to rule and governe the people of the Countrey being once ſubdued: The kinges of England ſuffered thoſe Lords to aſſume, and take vnto themſelves ſuch prerogatives and authoritie w^th^in the ſaied Lordſhips as to themſelves ſeemed beſt, The like pollicie (ſaieth the auncient hiſtoriographer *Lampridius*)[3] was vſed by the kinges of England w^th^ Lands vpon the borders of *Scotland* ſhortlie after the Conqueſt, his words cited by Maiſter *Camden*, are as followe; *Sola quæ de*

329), or in Maelienydd (Oxford *Bruts*, p. 409). Mr. Williams calls Maelienydd 'Moelynaidd', a form apparently of his own mintage.—E. P.

[1] Cynllaith is in Denbighshire, immediately W. of the town and Lordship of Oswestry (*Osestree*) in Shropshire, and contained the parishes of Llansilin and Llanarmon Dyffryn Ceiriog. It consisted of two divisions, Cynllaith Owen and Cynllaith yr Iarll, the first of which included Sycharth, one of the mansions of Owen Glendower, and probably took from him its distinctive name. The name Cynllaith is still given to the little river (a tributary of the Tanat) which waters Llansilin, and flows past Sycharth. The same name also occurs in Machynlleth, anciently spelt *Machynlleith* (= 'the field of Cynllaith'; see p. 107, note 7, and p. 177, note 2, above), at the other end of Powys. *Cynllaith* was originally a man's name; see *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 96, where the name is spelt *Chunleith*, and Geoffrey of Monmouth, ix, 12, where we have a *Kinlith map Neton*, *i.e.*, Cynllaith ab Neithon. *Cynllaith* as a district-name should therefore be an abbreviation of *Tir Cynllaith* or the like.

On the death, in 1281, of Llywelyn and Gruffudd, sons and heirs of Madog, the last prince of Powys Fadog, Edward I took their dominions into his hands, sharing them between John, Earl of Warren and Surrey, and Roger Mortimer, third son of Roger Mortimer, lord of Wigmore. To the first of these were given the Castle of Dinas Brân, the commot of Iâl, and the greater part of Bromfield; to the second the 'six commotes or manors'—viz., the two Cynllaiths, Mochnant (*i.e.*, M. Is Rhaiadr), Llangollen, Glyn, and the 'Ringild Maner de Isclawdd' (the last three answering to the Welsh commot of Nanheudwy; see note 3 on p. 201, above)—which afterwards made up the Lordship of Chirk, known in Welsh as *Swydd y Waun* (*Myv. Arch.*, ii, 617). See Palmer's *Ancient Tenures*, p. 92.

Mochnant, a much larger district, was immediately W. of Cynllaith, and was divided into two parts (Is Rhaiadr and Uwch Rhaiadr) by the stream which gives its name to Llanrhaiadr ym Mochnant, and now divides the counties of Denbigh and Montgomery. See *Tax. Eccl.*, p. 286.—E. P.

[2] See note 2 on p. 202, above.

[3] Ælius Lampridius, a Latin historian of the 3rd-4th centuries. This passage is from c. 57 (*al.* 58) of his Life of the Emperor Alexander Severus, who and whose campaigns (none in Britain) are referred to. Camden (*Britannia*, 1st ed., 1586, p. 462), when he quotes it, is speaking of him, not of the kings of England.

hostibus capta erant limitaneis ducibus et militibus †*donasset, ita vt eorum essent, si hered(es) eorum militarent nec vnquam ad priuatos pertinerent, existimans attentius eos militaturos si etiam sua rura defenderent:* and fuerelie the kinges of England dyd impose vpon their cheefest nobles to conquere some Countries in *Wales* from the princes and lords thereof givinge suche contreys and lands as they cold wynne from the welchemen to them and their heires, to hold thesame of the Crowne of England, whereby yt came to passe that all the *Lōps Marchers*, so afterwar*des* called, were holden of the Crowne of England long before the Principallitie of *Wales* came to the Crowne and these Lords wynning those Countries from y^e^ welchemen defended thesame by force; and thereof grewe that so manye Castles, and townes were in Ancient tyme built in *Wales*, and w^ch^ nowe are fallen ruinouse, for eu*ery* man that conquered a Countrey was forced to build a Castle for himselfe, and a towne for Receipt of such garrison, of trustie Englishemen, as was requisite for him to keepe about him, for defence of himselfe, and to be able to keepe the Countrye so by him subdued in awe and obedience to him selfe and the kinge of England; by these meanes in the tymes of *William Rufus Henry* the first, *King Stephen*, *Henry* the second, *Rich:* the first, *King John*, and *Henrie* the third, a great or y^e^ most parte of *Wales* was subdued by diu*er*se mightie men of England before named and others, as all *Monmouthshire*, *Brecknockshire*, *Radnorshire*, *Glamorganshire*, *Penbrokshire*, parte of *Carmarthenshire*, *Denbigheshire*, and most of *Flyntshire*, and parte of *Montgomerieshire*, yet during all these kinges tymes was there some prince or other of *Wales* raised and mainteyned by the rest of *Wales* betweene whome and the kinges of England and these English lordes marchers were contynuall warres, and manie bloodye battles: But the kinges of England having planted so manie of their Nobillitie in the bowells of *Wales*, and mayntayning Contynuall garrisons among them: they were brought verie weake and of small force, so that in the xi^th^ yeare of *Ed.* 1. the last prince of the Ancient Brittishe bloodd named Prince *Llewelin ap Griffith* was slayne, and the kinge tooke the Principallitie of all *Wales* into his owne possession and sithence yt hath beene accustomed, that the kinges of England bestowed the same vpon their heires apparant, †And nowe as concerninge the Principallitie of *Wales*, yt ys to be knowne, that noe more is accompted the Principallitie, but so much as was in the possession of the saied Prince *Llewelyn* at the time of his death, w^ch^ are the Counties of *Anglysey*, *Car-*

Fo. 90a, anc. 87a.

Prince llywelin slaine.

Fo. 90b, anc. 87b.

What the Principallitye of Wales ys.

narvon, and *Merionidh in Northwales* and part of fflinte,[1] and the Counties of *Cardigan* and *Carmarthen*[2] in *Southwales*, exceptinge ſo much of *Carmarthenſhire* as was woonne before by diuerſe Lords Marchers, w^ch^ are the L$\overline{\text{ps}}$ of *Laugharne*,[3] *Llanstiphan*, *St. Cleeres*, *Llandovror*,[4] *Kydwely* and *Llanymdhfry*, all w^ch^ was

[1] See note 1 on p. 207, and note 2 on p. 214, below, for the dominions of Llywelyn ab Gruffudd and his 'part of Fflinte'.

[2] See notes 2 on p. 199, and 1 on p. 200, above ; and note 1 on p. 216, below.

[3] It is almost or quite certain that Talacharn (of which the modern *Lacharn*, Anglicised *Laugharne*, pronounced *Larn*, is a contraction) was originally the name of a *district*, and that as a town-name it is short for *Castell yn Talacharn*, 'The Castle in Talacharn' (see note 1 on p. 200, above). The old name of the site of the castle and town of Laugharne was *Aber Coran* (see *Brut y Tywysogion*, p. 234) ; and in the *Lib. Land.* Cyffig is said to be 'in (the district of) Talacharn' (*Lan Ceffic in Talacharn*, p. 117). The old commot of Talacharn must have lain between the estuary of the Tâf and the eastern boundary of the cantred of Penfro (now that of the county of Pembroke), running from Eglwys Fair on the Tâf to the coast at Amroth Castle; its northern boundary was probably the Tâf—which would make it include Llandowror, but not St. Clear's.

The Lordship of Llanstephan seems to be approximately identical with the old Welsh commot of Penrhyn, bracketed with that of Derllys, which bounded it on the N., both forming part of the great Cantref Gwarthaf. The 'manor of Penryn' (see Lewis's *Top. Dict. of Wales*, *s. v.* 'Llangunnock') is now only co-extensive with the parish of Llangynog ; but this can only be a part of the original commot of Penrhyn, for the word *penrhyn* must primarily (one would think) have designated the actual '*promontory*' between the estuaries of Tâf and Tywi, which largely consists of the parish of Llanstephan, bounding Llangynog on the S. See note 2 on p. 45, above.—E. P.

[4] It would appear from note 2 on p. 213, below, that this lordship was identical with that of Oysterlow. The form Llandowror (which ought regularly to be *Llanddywrwr* in Welsh) is softened from *Llan Ddyfrwyr*, 'the church of the water-men'. This church anciently went by the double-barrelled name of '*Lanteliau Landibrguir*' (= Llandeilo Llanddyfrwyr, *Lib. Land.*, 244), just as Kenderchurch in Erging (Archenfield, Herefordshire) was called (*ib.*, 265) *Lanncinitir Lannicruc* (= *Llangynidr Llan y Crug;* also *Lanncruc*, p. 263). There was at least one other church of the same name, mentioned in the *Lives* of St. Cadoc and St. Cybi (*Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 50, 184); the church mentioned in the second passage (*Landaver Guir*) was in Edelygion (now in Monmouthshire), not far from Llangybi, now spelt Llangibby ; the church mentioned in the first passage (*Landubrguir*) is named in connection with Llandegfedd, also in Edelygion, and a Llanddewi Penfai (see note 3 on p. 177, above), probably the neighbouring Llanddewi Fach. For the legend of the *dyfrwyr* who gave their name to Llandowror, and why they were called so, and how they afterwards became 'the seven saints of Mathru' or Mathry in Pebidiog or Dewisland, see *Lib. Land.*, 120-2. The name of the place is also translated 'Ecclesia *Aquilensium*' (or *Aquilentium*, from *aqua*) in *Lib. Land.*, p. 74 (cf. 126). The word *dyfrwr* is only otherwise known to occur as an epithet of St. David, who was known as *Dewi Ddyfrwr*, translated 'David *Aquilentus*' (*C.-B. SS.*, p. 133) and 'David aquaticæ vitæ' (*ib.*, p. 118), by

long before ſubdued, and held from the prince by the Engliſhe Lordes.[1]

Rhygyfarch, who says he was so called because he lived on bread and water, *Aquaticus* in the *Life of St. Pol de Léon* (see *Rev. Celt.*, v, 421), and *vir Aquaticus* by Gerald (*Works*, iii, 379); but the real significance of the word *Dyfrwr*, of which we have two quite discordant explanations (for the other, see *Lib. Land.*, 121), is not clear, and the only other Welsh saint's epithet which is in the least similar is (we believe) that of Ilar *Bysgottwr* ('the Fisherman') of Llanilar in Cardiganshire. Very likely the personal name Dubricius, Latinised from an Old-Welsh *Dubric* (later *Dibric*; see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 156), now *Dyfrig*, which seems to mean 'water-ling', had originally the same significance as *Dyfrwr*. The personal name *Dyfrig* hardly, if at all, occurs except as the name of the saint, but a small affluent of the Severn close to Worcester was also called *Doferic* (*i.e.*, *Dyfric*); see Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, i, 308. A form *Dyfrog* also occurs in *Dowrog* Common and *Dowrog* Pool, just N.E. of St. David's. This common is called by our author in the tract printed in Browne Willis' *St. David's*, p. 46, *Crûg Glâs y Ddyfrog* ('the Green Mound of the Dyfrog'); there is a place called Crûg Glâs 3 miles to the N.E. For the detachment of 'the Lordship of Llanstiffan, Usterloyf, and Laugharn, and the members of the same' (in which description Llandowror is included; see note 2 on p. 213, below), from Pembrokeshire, by 34 and 35 Henry VIII, cap. 26, s. 117, see Fenton, pp. 480-1, who there quotes from the MS. referred to in note 3 on p. 5, above.—E. P.

For Kydwely see note 1 on p. 200, above.

Llandovery, of which the correct Welsh form is *Llanymddyfri*, still used in writing, though colloquially it has now given place to *Llandyfri*. It is derived from *Llan am Ddyfri*, 'the church on (the) waters', which must originally have been an alias applied to the church of Llandingat, just S. of the town, whose churchyard was anciently washed by the Towy (which once devastated (*difrododd*) the chancel; see Rice Rees' Biography of Vicar Prichard, in his edition of *Canwyll y Cymry*, 1858, p. 316, col. 2), before the course of that river was diverted considerably to the west. On the other side of the church, but (*now*, at least) not close to it, flow the river Brân and the Bawddwr brook. The meeting of waters at Llandovery is commemorated in the following Welsh rhymes:

'Llanymddyfri llawn o ddyfroedd
A chanolbwynt y dyffrynoedd,'

and

'Brân a Gwydderig
A Thywi fynheddig [foneddig]
A Bawddwr fach gachlyd
Yn rhedeg trwy'r dre'.'

The other church of Llandovery (there is no *parish* of Llandovery and no church in the town) is at Llanfair ar y Bryn, on the top of a steep little hill about half a mile N. of the town, the site of a Roman station.

Leland (*Itin.*, v, 73) calls Llandovery *Llanameueri*, and calls the Bawddwr '*Euery* Brook', forms evidently coined to suit a fancied derivation of the name of the town from *Llan am Eferi*. From the Bawddwr natives of Llandovery derive their *sobriquet* of *cywion Bawddwr*.—E. P.

[1] The Welsh dominion of Edward I consisted of the principality of Llewelyn, viz., the shires of Anglesey, Carnarvon, and Merioneth, Flint (attached to the

Nowe to come to my purpoſe to ſhowe how *Penbrokshire* came firſt to be an ancient Countie Pallatyne, yt behoveth you to knowe, that as the Engliſhe Lords dyd conquere anye countrie in *Wales*, they were forced to governe the ſame, and ſuch people as they planted there, wth the lawes of England, for that the lawes of *Wales*, were vtterly vnknowne vnto them, and to ſeeke lawe in *West-(minste)r* yt was to farre for the people to travell, neither dyd the Courtes of *Westm(inste)r* take knowledge of anie cauſe in *Wales: Quia breve domini Regis non currit in Walliam*, and therefore dyd theſe Lords of themſelves by the kinges permiſſion ordayne the lawes of England in everye of their L$\overline{ps}$, and brought out of England men learned in the lawes to adminiſter Juſtice emong their people, and tenantes, and of them, made ſome Juſtices, ſome Stewards, ſome Shirieffes, and ſome conſtables of caſtles to execute lawe, and Juſtice wthin their Segniories.

By theis meanes dyd *S^{r} Robert Fitzhamon* a valiant and noble Norman havinge conquered the goodlie & lardge Contrey of *Glamorgan* begynne to ſettle lawes among the people of that Countrey, and ſeeing it was a lardge and ample Countrye made and called the ſame the Countie of *Glamorgan*,[1] and erected one

Palatinate of Chester; see note 2 on p. 214, below) and, in South Wales: Carmarthen, Cardigan, and Llanbadarn Fawr (spelt 'Lampadar' in records and sometimes mistaken for Lampeter; see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 215-6). Until the Act of Union this royal dominion constituted 'Wales' as opposed to the Marches.

[1] The present county of Glamorgan does not exactly represent the ancient Morganwg. It includes Gower, which was in Ystrad Tywi (see note 1 on p. 200, above, and note 1 on p. 216, below), and it does not include Gwynllywg (now corrupted into Wentloog), which (with Edelygion; see *Lib. Land.*, 237) embraced the district between the lower courses of the Usk and Rumney, and was considered as being in Morganwg (as opposed to Gwent) as late as in Leland's time (see *Y Cymmrodor*, xi, 40-41), but is now in Monmouthshire. On the other hand the territorial designation Morganwg (of which *Gwlad Morgan*, corrupted into *Glamorgan*, was a mere alias, though the two terms got differentiated under the Norman Lords—see Rice Merrick, ed. 1887, p. 4, etc.) once included Gwent, as may be seen by a reference to the three old lists of Welsh cantreds and commots in the Oxford *Bruts*, p. 412, Leland's *Itin.*, v, 18, and *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 331. The name *Morganwg* means 'the territory of Morgan Hên', who died in 980, not (as some have supposed) Morgan Mwynfawr, who died *circa* 665. Previously to *circa* 1,000, the district is always known as *Glywyssing;* but this was not quite conterminous with Morganwg, as it seems on the one hand to have excluded Gwent and on the other to have included Gower. The boundaries given to Glywyssing in *Iolo MSS.*, p. 18, and the use of the term 'Gwent' for the Vale of Glamorgan on pp. 100-1 of the same work, are quite apocryphal—the inventions of 16th or 17th century antiquaries. As for modern Monmouthshire, it is made up of Gwent and Gwynllywg, the long

gen*er*all, and ſupreame Coort over the ſame, and called yt the *Countye Court*, & held the ſame monethlie, and yndued yt w^th^ the authoritie of the Coortes of the Kinges benche, and Comon pleas at *Westminster*, for therein were all pleas of the Crowne hard and tried, and all pleas of land, and all other Reall and mixte were ſued there accordinge to the courſe of the comon lawes of England, he allſo ordayned a Shirieffe, a Coroner, and an Eſcheator to p*er*forme, and execute all thinges belonging to their offices w^th^in the ſame Countie, and ſo this was the firſt Countie erected in Wales in ſort as before you have hard. *Glamorgan ye first County in Wales.*

†And althoughe *Robert Fitzhamon* was never called Earle of that Countie, yet doe manie .thinke that he in hys tyme bare y^t.^ title, and by reaſon that his inheritance came to his daughter who married *Robert* Earle of *Gloucester:* ſo that the title of Earle (if ever any ſuch were) was drowned and ſhadowed und*er* the title of the Earle of *Gloucester.* who havinge the profitte and inheritance cared not ſo much for the title, but allthoghe the heires of the-ſaied *Fitzhamon* never claymed or vſed anye other or lardger tytle for that Countrie, then Lords of *Glamorgan;* yet dyd they con-tynuallie enioye the lib*er*ties, and Royall Jurisdiction of a Countie, as lardgelie as anie Countie Palatyne in England dyd, And so yt contynued vntill the 27 yeare of King *H. 8.* as ſhallbe declared: Fo. 91a, anc. 88a.

Next after this Cometh to ſpeake of the like erectinge of this Countye of *Penbrok* being the next, and ſecond Ancient Countie of *Wales* w^ch^ Countrye being ſubdued by *Gilbert Strongbowe* being a mightye, and valiant gentleman of no ſmall power or prowes, who firſt ſubdued a great part of *Monmouthshire* called *Strugule.*[1] & *Chepstowe* was created, and called Earle of *Penbrok-ſhire ye ſecond aun-cient Coun-tie of Wales.*

strip of Ewias (or *Euas*) mentioned in note 5 on p. 199, above, and two or three small pieces of *Erging*, including Monmouth town and the district around it (see *Y Cymmrodor*, x, 245, note 1), and also the parish of Welsh Bicknor. Ewias and *Erging* (now the Deanery of *Archen*-field) were called (*Lib. Land.*, 237) 'the two true sleeves of Gwent uch Coed' (*dew*—misprinted *deu—wur laweys Went huc coyt*), but are now, with the exceptions above named, entirely included in Herefordshire.—E. P.

[1] Cf. pp. 14, 18, above. *Strugule* or *Striguil* (there are many other ortho-graphies of the word, whose etymology is quite uncertain) is the well-known Anglo-Norman and mediæval name of Chepstow Castle, Lordship (Liberty, Honour), and Priory; for the last (also called Chepstow Priory) see *Tax. Eccl.*, 161^b^, 172^b^, 174^b^, 221^a^, 223^b^, 282^a^, 283^a^ (cf. 35^a^, 278^b^); Tanner's *Notitia Monas-tica*, under 'Monmouthshire', ed. 1744, p. 330, note *c;* Dugdale's *Monasticon* (1825), iv, 652; *Valor Eccl.*, iv, 372. 'Villa de Sturggyl' is mentioned in *Tax. Eccl.*, 282^b^; and Leland, *Itin.*, vi, 23, speaks of Walter de Clare as 'dominus de Strogil alias Chepstow'. The modern Welsh name of Chepstow is *Cas-*

Strugule, and ſrom thence enterprized the Conqueringe of the Countrey of *Dyvett*, nowe called *Penbrokshire*,[1] w^ch^ he accompliſhed in the tyme of *Henry* the firſt, and havinge ſubdued theſame, dyd as before[2] I haue declared of *Robert Fitzhamon* make theſame a Countye and ordayned Juſtices, a ſteward, a Shirieffe, a Coroner, an eſcheator, Chamberlaine, and a Chauncellour, and other officers & miniſters neceſſarie for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice amonge his people, who all were Engliſhe, brought w^th^ him thyther to inhabyte the Countrey, and ſome w^ch^ he found keepinge the garryſons of the Countrey being ſent thither before his cominge, he ordayned allſo a Coorte of Recorde for triall of all murders, Robberies, and all other fellonies as allſo for all pleas Royall perſonall,

Gwent, short for the older name given to the Castle, Castell Gwent (see *Lib. Land.*, 32, 43), like Cas-newydd for Castell Newydd (Newport on Usk) and Cas Llychwr for Castell Llychwr (Loughor). For the older Welsh names of the site of Chepstow, *Pant Annuc*, *Tnou Mur* (= *Tyno Mawr;* wrongly read '*Trou*-mur' in the printed edition), and *Emricorva*, see *Lib. Land.*, pp. 32, 43, 149-150, 156-7; also *Byegones* for 1890, p. 534, col. 2. Chepstow was in Gwent Is Coed, or Netherwent. It should be mentioned that in or on the borders of the same district, within Wentwood, are the ruins of another small castle at the head of the Troggy brook (Welsh *Tarogi*, *Taroci*; see *Lib. Land.*, 226, and Skene's *Four Books*, ii, 460, line 1, where the MS. has *Tarogi*, not *Torogi*), called *Cas Trogi* or '*Troggy* Castle'. This was wrongly identified by Camden in his *Britannia* with *Stroguil* or Chepstow Castle, as may be seen from the following passage: 'Ad quintum hinc [sc., a Chepstow] milliare in occidentem *Strigulia* castrum ad montium radices sedet, nos hodie *Strogle*, Normanni *Estrighill* vocarunt,' etc. (ed. Frankfort, 1590, p. 508); this passage is not to be found in the 1st edition of *Britannia* (1586), p. 361. Speed, copying Camden, calls this place, in his Map of Monmouthshire (1610), 'Strogle Cast'; they have of course been blindly followed down to our time, and thus it is that the place appears on the 1-inch Ordnance Maps (Sheet 35) as 'Cas Troggy or Striguil Castle'. The editor of Tanner (*op. et loc. cit.*) fell into the same error.

Camden's mistake is perhaps traceable to the following remarks of Leland (*Itin.*, v, 5, here transcribed from the original MS. in the Bodleian Library, 'MS. Top. C. 12, Gen. Top.'): 'Venceland ys deuided in to low, myddle, and hy [Gwent Is Coed, Ganol, and Uwch Coed; see *Y Cymmrodor*, xi, 41] the principal towne of low Venteland is Chepstow a . ij . myles from Seuerne shoore. Sum say that the old name of this towne is Str[i]gulia. Sum think that Strigulia should be sum other place. Be cause that the lord Herebert writeth hym self lord of Chepstow and Str[i]gul, as of . ij . diuerse places. There appere a . v . or . vj . englisch myles from Chepstow yn a great wood syde under a hille uery notable ruines of a castel cawlled Trogy wherby runneth a lytle broke of the same name the name of this castel sumwhat cummeth to the name of Strigulia, but in [altered to 'it' in another hand] standeth as they say there in mydde Venceland.' Striguil and Chepstow are also mentioned as different places by our author, here and at pp. 14, 18, above.—E. P.

[1] See note 2 on p. 199, above.

[2] See pp. 198, 208-9, above.

and mixt, ſo that y^t^ had the full and abſolute power of the King*es* benche and Comon pleas, and held theſame Coorte monethlie, and called y^t^ the Countie Courte of the Countie of *Penbrok*, and the chiefe Judge of that coort was the Steward of *Penbrok;* he allſo w^th^in his caſtle of *Penbrok* had and kept a Chauncerie, and a Chauncello*ur*, who had the keeping of the Earles great ſeale, and therewith ſealed all originall writtes, at the Comon lawe, as lardgely as the Lord Chancello*ur* of England doeth in England, and w^th^ theſaied ſeale by bill aſſigned by the ſaied Earle, were †Sealed all pardons for murder, or other fellonie or rape, as well for liſe as for lands, and goods, as allſo all exemplifications of fines, Recou*er*ies, Comiſſions poſt mortem, lyveries, ouſter le meyne, vidimus, and Inſpeximus[1] of anie matter, and all other matters that paſſed autenticallie from and under the name and ſtile of the Earles there; w^ch^ ſeale was allwayes engraven w^th^ the armes, and circumſcripc*i*on of the ſaied Earles; nowe y^t^ maie be queſtioned, why I call this Countie of *Penbrok* a Countie Palatine ſeeinge there is no menc*i*on made thereof in anie of the yeare bookes of the lawe or ſtatutes of the Realme, as ys of *Chester*, *Lancaster*, & *Dureſme*[2]; my anſwere ys that there was noe cauſe to have anie ſpeech of this Countie Palatine of *Penbrok* in the lawe bookes of England, as of thoſe other in England, for that yt was in *Wales ubi breve domi(ni) Regis non currit*, ſo that there cold no cauſe be miniſtered[3] to ſpeake of this Countie of *Penbrok;* but yt ſufficeth for me to prove that yt was a Countye Palatyne, w^ch^ beſide that I haue ſaied before,[4] w^ch^ were ſufficient, if nothinge ells were ſaied: yet for the better ſatiſfaction therein I will eyke[5] this that followeth; ffirſt that all writes originall and Judiciall were made in the name, and ſtyle of the Earle, and not in the Kinges name, whereof I haue, and can ſhewe verie manye, he hadd allſo Juſtices of *Oyer* and *terminer* appointed by himſelfe, who kept Seſſions for him, and in his name, as maye appeere by manie pleas held and determyned before them, by diu*er*ſe exemplifications yet extant, he had the makinge of the Shirieffe Coroner, Eſcheator,

Fo. 91b, anc. 88b.

Prooffes that Penbrokſhire was a Countie Palantine.

Clamea de Granant[6] *A°.* 13 *hen:* 6:

[1] 'Livery' was the delivery of the feudal possession of land, 'ousterlemain' (from the old French *oster la main*=amovere manum), the release of lands held in wardship; 'vidimus' and 'inspeximus' were the first words of the exemplification of a charter of letters patent.

[2] Durham. [3] Administered.

[4] See p. 10, above. There is a treatise in the author's MS. book, 'Pembrock and Kemes' (see the preface to this work), to prove that the royal jurisdiction of the Earl was annexed to the seigniory and not to the title.

[5] Add; see *Faerie Queene*, I, v, 42. [6] In the parish of St. Dogmell.

Chauncellour, and Chamberlen w^th^ in the ſaied Countye, all that held by knight ſ*er*vice of him, at their full yeares (they ſueing foorth writes *de etate probanda* out of the Earles Chauncerie) therehence ſued foorth their lyveries and *ouster le mayne*,[1] as the caſe required vnder the Earles ſeale of his Chauncerie, he had & exerciſed all *Jura regalia*, and all Regall authoritie and Juriſdiction w^th^in his Countye Pallantine as amplye as either *Chester*, *Lancaster* and *Dureſme* dyd or doeth, he had authoritie to pardon all maner of offences, as murder, Rape, Robberie, thefte, and all other tranſgreſſions, Comytted w^th^ in his ſaied Countie. The inhabitantes of the Countie were called his People, for the forme of all Recog-

Fo. 92a, anc. 89a.

nizances for the peace †was *quod gerat pacem erga D(omi)num Comitem et Cunctum populum ſuum :* Allſo in all fines the forme was. *Hæc est finalis concordia f(a)c(t)a in Curia D(omi)ni Will(el)mi de Valentia Comitis Penbroch etc. tent(a) ap(u)d Penbrok in Com(itatu) Penb(rok) die Martis vi(delicet) primo die Maij anno R(eg)ni Regis etc., coram A : B. ſenesch(allo) Penbrok. C. D. vic(ecomite), et A. B etc. ſectatoribus Curie pred(icte), et alijs d(i)c(t)i Domini Will(el)mi fidelibus tunc ib(ide)m preſentibus*, ſo that they were called his faithfull people, he had allſo the comaund of all his people to followe him in the warres ; he dyd allſo incorporate chiefe and principall townes as *Haverfordwest Tenbye*, and diu*er*ſe others, and gaue them ſuch lib*er*ties as pleaſed him, he allſo founded and erected religiouſe houſes, and hoſpitalls of his owne authoritie : He created foure barons of name and dignitie, and gave them Baronies to holde of him, viz. *Carewe*, *Dungledy*, *Wallwynſcastle & Laugharne :* w^ch^ is a p*re*rogative aſſigned onely to an Earle Palantine, as the moſt auntient, and moderne wrytters doe conſent, addinge therew^th^ to haue a peculiar ſeale : Theſe thinges being true as yt ys moſt manifeſt to be proved by Autentique prooffe, I truſt noe man will or can denye him to be an Earlle Palantine, and if not more Royall : yet nothing inferior or behinde anye of them in Magnificence or Regallitie : beſide he hadd his caſtle of *Penbrok* moſt ſtatelie ſtrong, and ſumptuouſe built, according to the tyme having adioyning therevnto his ſhire towne of *Penbrok*, wherein he kept the garriſon, and guard of his p*er*ſon, w^ch^ towne was encloſed w^th^ two ſtrong walls proceedinge from the both ſides of his caſtle, as if theſame were in the baſe or outter Court thereof, and but throwe the w^ch^, there was noe waye or acceſſe to come to the caſtle gate, w^ch^ caſtle being highe and ſtatelie mounted vpon a highe & mayne Rocke of lymeſtone embraſed w^th^in two armes of Mylford

[1] See note 1 on last page.

havon contynuallie flowyng or ebbinge, both for pleaſure, and proffitte of the ſaied Caſtle and towne, maketh the ſame ſo ſtrong by nature; as that if yt were ſubiect to battery, yet ſalffe[1] by reaſon of the hard acceſſe to the breach, being defenſible both for the height and ſteepenes of the Rocke, whereon the Caſtle is ſeated: as allſo for the water at full ſea and the owſe at lowe Ebbe.[2]

[1] Safe.

[2] The limits of the County Palatine of Pembroke at the time of its extinction, when Henry VIII was Earl, can be ascertained from the enumeration of the 'lordships, towns, parishes, commotes, and cantreds', which (by 27 Henry VIII, cap. 26, s. 17) were added to it to make up the new shire of Pembroke. These were: 1. Haverfordwest. 2. Kilgarran. 3. Lansteffan. 4. Laugharne, otherwise Tallaugherne (see note 3 on p. 206, above). 5. Walwynscastell. 6. Dewysland. 7. Launehadeyn (Lawhaden). 8. Lanfey (see note 7 on p. 106, above). 9. Nerberth (so in the original Roll of Parliament, which I have examined at the Record Office—the early printed statutes give 'Herberth'). 10. Slebeyche. 11. Rose-markett. 12. Castellan (now a chapelry annexed to Penrydd parish; it appears as *Ecclesia de Castelthlan* in *Tax. Eccl.*, p. 272[a]); and 13. Llandofloure (Llandowror; see note 4 on p. 206, above). Dewisland or Pebydiog was the patrimony of St. David (see Gerald's *Works*, iii, 154). Lawhaden and Lamphey were also episcopal possessions. The others had for various reasons become Crown lands. Haverfordwest had been held from time to time by Earl or King, but had been finally annexed to the Crown by Henry VII. It was withdrawn from the new County of Pembroke by 34 and 35 Henry VIII, cap. 26, s. 124, which declared that the 'King's Majesty is contented and pleased, notwithstanding the statute made in the twenty-seventh yeare of his most gracious reigne, that where (*sic*) there should be but twelve shires in Wales, the towne of Haverfordwest should be a county in itselfe, as it hath been before this tyme used.' It has to this day a lord-lieutenant and a chairman of Quarter-Sessions (his Honour Judge Owen), and the full equipment of a county. The county of Haverfordwest stands by itself. It differs from the ordinary *counties corporate*, which are certain cities and boroughs which have been exempted by royal charter from the jurisdiction of the county in which they are locally situated, and are governed by their own municipal (not county) officers. The *county boroughs* of the Local Government Act, 1888, are merely certain large towns set apart for the purposes of the Act. By s. 117 of 34 and 35 Henry VIII, c. 26, the 'lordship of Llanstiffan, Usterloys [Oysterlow], and Laugharn, and the members of the same', which comprised Nos. 3, 4, and 13 above, were also withdrawn (to the indignation of the author; see note 3 on p. 5, and note 4 on p. 206, above), and became a portion of the county of Carmarthen.

[The form *Usterloys* seems to be a mistake in transcribing *Usterloyf*, which is equivalent to the Welsh form 'Esterlwyf' ('Ysterlwyf' in modern orthography), afterwards contracted into *Ystlwyf*, *Ystlwy* (see note 2 on p. 45, above); another form *Estloof* (from Hengwrt MS. 34), *i.e.*, *Ystlwf*, will be found in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 330. Gerald (*Works*, i, 309; iii, 155), mentions lands belonging to St. David's at *Oisterlaph* or *Oisterlaf*. The final *f* or *ph* of these forms is phonetically equivalent to the *th* of '(terra de) *Osterloyth*', named among the possessions of Whitland Abbey in a charter of King John (Dug-

Fo. 92b, anc. 89b.

†This Earle *Strongbowe* dyd not onely erecte the lands conquered by him in *Wales* into a Countye Pallatine as ys ſayed before; but allſo the Kinges of England created him Earle thereof, and gave him Honor w^th^ his dignitie, wherein he ſurmounted *S^r^ Robert Fitzhamon* for his Countie of *Glamorgan.*

Now havinge ſhewed vnto you howe Counties were firſt made in *Wales*, & that I haue ſhewed ſuch prooffe as I cold to prove this Countye of *Penbrok* to be a Countie Pallantine, yt is not much out of the waye (having ſo farre proceeded therein allready) to ſhewe (ſeeing this place offreth good inducem*en*t) howe and when the reſt of Wales, was made allſo into ſhires, and by whome and vpon what occaſions, w^ch^ I will more briefely runne over becauſe yt ys a matter from the purpoſe I firſt tooke in hand.

I declared before[1] how Ed. I in the xj^th^ yeare of his raigne ſlew prince *Lewelin*, and tooke the Principallitie of *Wales* into his hands, and builded the ſame yeare the caſtles of *Carnarvon*, *Beawmarys*, and *Conwey*, and in the next yeare at the Caſtle of *Ruthlan* in the Countie of *Flynte* he made and ordayned lawes, and made the ſtatute comonly termed the *Statute of Ruthlan*, but entitled, *Statuta Walliæ*, by w^ch^ ſtatute he devyded the patrymonie of the ſaied prince *Lewelin* called there *terra de Snowdon* into foure ſhires, viz., *Angleſey*, *Carnarvon*, *Merionidh*, and *Flynt*,[2] and made allſo then in *South*

Vj other shires of Wales.

dale s *Monasticon*, 1825, v, 591); this same estate appears in the Rolls *temp.* Henry VIII as 'grangia de *Osterley*' (or *Usterley*)—see *ib.*, p. 592, and *Valor Eccl.*, iv, 407—and is also mentioned in the 'Pat. 26 Ed. III, p. 2, m. 8, vel 9' (*apud* Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, 'Pembrokeshire: Menevia', ed. 1744, p. 718^b^), where an annual sum of £3 is said to be payable to the Archdeacon of St. David's 'e terris Abbatis de Alba Landa in *Offirlow*' (a mistake for *Ostir low*). Perhaps these are the same as the lands mentioned by Gerald.

See note (*a*) at the end of this book: 'On the names of Lawhaden and Lamphey'.—E. P.]

[1] See pp. 205-7, above.

[2] The county of Carnarvon is made up of the cantreds of Arllechwedd, Arfon, and Lleyn, stretching together from the Conway to opposite Bardsey Island, and the commots of (1) Eifionydd, in the N.E. corner of Cardigan Bay, one of the two commots of Dunoding; (2) Creuddyn, one of the three commots of Rhôs, immediately E. of the Conway mouth (see note 2 on p. 201, above); and (3) Nanconwy, in the upper basin and on the left bank of the Conway.

The county of Merioneth is made out of the cantred of Meirionydd (the district between the rivers Dyfi and Mawddach); the commot of Ardudwy (the second commot of Dunoding, lying between the Mawddach and the Traeth Bychan or Bach); the commots of Penllyn, Edernion, Glyn Dyfrdwy, and a small bit of Dinmael (consisting of the parish of Bettws Gwerful Gôch and one township of Llanfihangel Glyn Myfyr), along the upper basin of the Dee; and the commot of Mawddwy or Mowddwy on the upper Dovey, one of the two commots of a cantred of which the other commot, Cyfeiliog (see note 2 on p. 219, below), is in Montgomeryshire. It should be added that Penllyn, though

called a *commot* in the *Statute of Rhuddlan* (*sub initio;* see *e.g.* Owen's *Ancient Laws, etc., of Wales*, 8vo. ed., ii, 908, or *Record of Carnarvon*, p. 119), in the *Extent of Merioneth* (*Record of Carn.*, ends of pp. 274, 276), in *Valor Eccl.*, iv, 437[b], and elsewhere (*e.g.*, *Plwyfau Cymru* in *Myv. Arch.*, ii, 616), is given as a *cantref* (of Gwynedd) in the old lists of the ancient divisions of Wales (see Leland's *Itin.*, v, 16, *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 328, and the Oxford *Bruts*, p. 408), and also in the 16th-century lists of the same in Price and Lhuyd's *Description of Wales*, ed. 1584, p. 9, and *Myv. Arch.*, ii, 607 (top of col. 2). The first two of these five lists include Nanconwy in Penllyn as well as the proper commots of the latter district, Uwch Meloch and Is Meloch, alone recognised as comprised in Penllyn by the third list or by *Plwyfau Cymru*, and alone included in the old Deanery of Penllyn (*Tax. Eccl.*, 286-7); the two late lists add to *Uwch* and *Is M.* a third commot, Migneint, the name of a moorland district in the extreme N.W. of Penllyn. The third or *Red Book* list, under 'Gwynedd', makes up another cantred of the commots of Nanconwy, Dinmael, and Glyn Dyfrdwy, including doubtless in the last *Edernion*, which it does not mention by name (the first and second lists make up this cantred of the commots of Dinmael, Edernion, *and* Glyn Dyfrdwy, which they place in Powys Fadog, and which were, as well as Penllyn and Mawddwy—as to which see note 6 on p. 220, below—in the diocese of St. Asaph, while Nanconwy, with the rest of Carnarvonshire and Ardudwy and Meirionydd in Merionethshire, were and are in the diocese of Bangor). Perhaps this grouping of Nanconwy with Dinmael and Glyn Dyfrdwy by the *Red Book* is merely the result of a clerical error by which Nanconwy was bracketed with the latter commots instead of with those of Penllyn, which immediately precede in the MS.; in the same manner as (see the fourth paragraph of note 2 on p. 202, above) the commot of Gwrtheyrnion is wrongly bracketed in the second list under Arwystli instead of under Maelienydd. In the *Mabinogi* of *Math ap Mathonwy* (Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 77, l. 22) Penllyn is made to be held with Ardudwy, which adjoins it on the west. In the *Valor Eccl.*, iv, 454 (cf. 433-4) it is grouped with Edernion in the 'Decanatus de Penllyn et Edurnyon'. As for Nanconwy, the *Valor* groups it with Arllechwedd in its 'Decanatus de Issaph, Nanconwey, et Cruthyn' (iv, 423) and 'Decanatus de Ughaph, Issaph, et Nanconwey' (iv, 415-6; the Deanery of 'Ughaph' is given by itself on pp. 416, 422, and that of 'Issaph' on p. 416); *Uchaf* and *Isaf* (see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 328; Leland's *Itin.*, v, 16) were the later names of the two commots of Arllechwedd, also called *Llechwedd uchaf* and *Ll. isaf* (see Leland's *Itin.*, v, 41, 48), and the commots of Aber and Trefriw, respectively (see Oxford *Bruts*, p. 407). Trefriw, however, with its chapels of Llanrhochwyn and Bettws y Coed, is included in the commot of Nanconwy in *Plwyfau Cymru* (*Myv. Arch.*, ii, 615).

By the 'part of fflinte' mentioned on p. 206, above, as being in the possession of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd at the time of his death, the author apparently means Tegeingl, which, as one of the four cantreds of the Perfeddwlad or 'Middle Country', formed part of the dominions of the Princes of Gwynedd. The other three cantreds were Rhôs, Rhufoniog, and Dyffryn Clwyd, which, with nearly all Dinmael (viz., the parishes of Llangwm Dinmael and Cerrig y Drudion, and three townships of that of Llanfihangel Glyn Myfyr) and Iâl, now constitute the whole of Denbighshire W. and N.W. of the narrow isthmus of the county which lies between Bodidris in Flintshire (see note 3 on p. 201, above) and Hendre Forfydd in Corwen parish, in Merionethshire. Tegeingl comprised all

Wales Carmarthen, and *Cardigan*[1] *Sheeres*, and in each of the ſaied ſixe ſhires ordayned Shirieffes, Coroners, and Bailliffes of Comott*es* and deviſed certaine originall writtes, & orders for adminiſtration of Lawes, much agreeing to the Comon lawes of England (yet in manie thinges differinge) ſo that in this ſorte were the firſt viij[t] auncient ſhires in *Wales* made and erected, and as for the Counties of *Monmouth*, *Brecknock*, *Radnor*, *Montgomerye*, *Denbighe* and diu*er*ſe other partes of *Wales* afterward annexed to the Engliſhe ſhires of the m*ar*ches, y[t] ſtill remayned devided into ſoundrie great L$\overline{\text{ps}}$ and ſegniories being conquered before the death of the ſaied Prince *Lewelyn*, or otherwiſe brought into the poſſeſſion of diu*er*ſe Engliſhe Lord*es*, and was by them, and their officers governed, ſome by the Engliſhe lawes brought in by theſe Lord*es*, and ſome by the old Welſhe lawes permytted in the ſame, and not reduced or brought to be ſhireground, vntill the xxvij[th] yeare of

Fiue laſt Sheeres made in Wales.

modern Flintshire (except perhaps Hawarden, which in *Tax. Eccl.*, p. 248[a], is included in the Deanery of Chester) north of the parishes of Mold and Hope (see note 3 on p. 201, above), and exclusive of the large detached portion of the shire known as Maelor Saesneg, or 'English Maelor', jutting out from the Denbighshire border on the Dee far into Cheshire and Shropshire, and also of a small detached portion in Gresford parish, which were originally part of the cantred of Maelor in Powys Fadog (Leland, *Itin.*, v, 16).—E. P.

[1] Cardiganshire represents, exactly or nearly so, the ancient Welsh principality of Ceredigion. Carmarthenshire *substantially* represents the ancient division of Ystrad Tywi (see p. 8, above), but with two important exceptions; first, that it does not include the commot of Gower (see notes 1 on p. 200 and 1 on p. 208, above), which is now in Glamorganshire; and secondly, that it includes, with the exception of the little district of Velfrey (see note 2 on p. 199, above), and possibly the unidentified district of Peuliniog, the whole of Cantref Gwarthaf, the largest of the Seven Hundreds of Dyfed. The whole of the two chief cantreds of Ystrad Tywi, viz., Cantref Mawr, north of the Tywi, and Cantref Bychan, south of it, are in Carmarthenshire. See *Y Cymmrodor*, xi, 55-7; p. 45 (note 2), pp. 46-8, note 1 on p. 166, and note 4 on p. 8, above.

In the 13th and 14th centuries we find places in Carmarthenshire, situate in the Vale of Cothi in Cantref Mawr, and far south of the county boundary at the Teifi, spoken of as in Cardiganshire. Thus in the charter of 5 Ed. III to Talley Abbey (Dugdale's *Monasticon*, 1825, iv, 162[b]), Brechfa is spoken of as 'Lanteilau Brechua apud Keredigaun'; and in *Chronicon Adæ de Usk* (Add. MS., 10,104, fo. 172[a]; edition, p. 68), Cayo (properly called *Cynwyl Caeo*), a magnate of which place is there said to have been taken to Llandovery for execution, is spoken of as 'in comitatu de Cardikan'. (The MS. reads here *Lanamthyvry*—see the end of note 4 on p. 206, above—not *Lanamthryvry*, wrongly read by the editor, Mr. E. Maunde Thompson, and by him hesitatingly identified with a non-existent 'Llanarmon Dyfryn, co. Denb.', by which Llanarmon Dyffryn Ceiriog is presumably meant.) Brechfa and Cayo are in the modern hundreds (anciently the commots) of Cathinok and Cayo respectively.—E. P.

King *H.* 8. that of the L$\overline{\text{ps}}$ ſo remayninge, as before I ſaied, were the five other ſheeres †Before named made, so that nowe in *Wales* there are the xiij ſhires before named, beſides there were then allſo annexed diu*er*ſe L$\overline{\text{ps}}$ Remayning overplus thoſe xiij fornamed, ſhires of *Wales*, to the ſhires of *Gloucester*, *Hereford*, & *Salop*[1] to be parcells of them ſhires, as maye bee ſeene by the ſaied ſtatutes of the *27* & *34:* of *H. 8.* and thus in brieffe I have declared how when by whome & by what meanes all *Wales* was made, and parted into ſhires w^{ch} before was one whole, and entyre Countrey, devided into manie Ca*n*tred*es* and Comottes. Fo. 93a, anc. 90a.

And now after this long digreſſion lett me Retorne to my purpoſe and ſhewe howe this Countie of *Penbrok* contynued as a Countie Pallatine, vntill all L$\overline{\text{ps}}$ Marchers of *Wales* received the downfall in the *27* yeare of *H. 8.* for as I haue ſhewed before in the Catalogue[2] of the Earles, ſuch Kinges of England, as held the Earledome of Penbroke whereof you maye ſee diu*er*ſe in the ſaied Catalogue, dyd not paſſe anie thinge in the ſaied Countie, as pardoninge of murders, Roberyes, theftes, or any other fellonies, as Kinges of England, and vnder the great ſeale of England, but by adding to their ſtiles, the name of Earle of Penbroke, and vnder his Chauncerie ſeale of *Penbr(oke)* and therefore yo^{u} ſhall finde in all exemplifications that King *H. 7* & *H. 8* being Kinges of England, & holdinge the Earledome in their hand*es* dyd in their tyme wryte their ſtile in this ſorte, *Henricus 7. vel 8. dei gratia Angliæ, et Franciæ rex, Dominus Hiberniæ et Comes Penbroch(iæ) omnibus ad quos* etc, and the teſte of the Kinge was thus, *In cuius rei testi-*

More prooſes that Penbrokſheere was a Countie Palatine.

[1] In the Journal of the House of Commons for the 23rd December, 1640, these counties, with Worcester, were called 'the four shires of the Marches of Wales'. Although no part of the Welsh Marches was allotted to Worcestershire by the Act of Union (27 Hen. VIII, cap. 26), the town of Bewdley, which is said in Nash's *Worcestershire*, ii, 274, to have formerly been in the dominion of the Marches, was united to that shire by the amending Act (34 and 35 Hen. VIII, cap. 27, s. 116). Bewdley is on the very edge of Shropshire, and at the time when Leland visited it, was 'said' and 'held', according to him, by 'some' or 'many' to be within that county (*Itin.*, iv, 183^{a}); but it is not included in the Lordships, etc., annexed to Shropshire by 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 26, s. 11. Bewdley was extra-parochial till the time of Hen. VI (say Nash, *loc. cit.*, and Lewis' *Top. Dict. of England*, *s. v.*) when it was annexed to the parish of Ribbesford. It will be observed that the author always reckons Monmouthshire among the Welsh counties, although it had been exempted from the jurisdiction of the Court of Great Sessions (see above, p. 155, note 4). Since the Act of Union, the expression 'The Marches' has been used loosely for the borders between England and Wales.

[2] See p. 14, above.

monium has l(itte)ras n(ost)ras fieri fecimus patentes: T(este) meipſo apud Penbroch(iam) etc. of theſe exemplificacions, there are manie yet extant in *Penbrokshire* to be ſeene, made in the tymes of *H.* 8. *H.* 7. *Ri:* 3. *Ed.* 5, all w^ch^ were Reſpectivelie both Kinges of England and Earles of *Penbroch, ſimul et ſemel:* And this Royall juriſdiction contynued in the ſaied Earledome, vntill the xxvij^th^ yeare of King *H.* 8 as before ys declared: And all †the Earles of Penbroke, that were before the 27 yeare of *H.* 8. were not earles in name and title onely, as other Earles of England were, but they had the whole Revenues of the Earledome and the ſetting and letting of all the Earles crowne lands w^th^in the ſhire; and all forfeitures of land*es* and goods, and all fines, iſſues and am*er*cem*entes* of the ſeſſions Countie Court, and other Royall coortes, neither had the Kinge of England as King onely, anie thinge to deale or meddle w^th^ in the ſaied Countie, but the Earles were free & abſolute princ*es* w^th^in themſelves, their alleadgeance, and tenure thereof to y^e^ Kinges of England onely Reſerved, which was a Regalitie peculiar to the Earles of this Countye, above all other Earles of this Realme w^ch^ had but the name and tytles of their Counties, but no ſuch juriſdiction, ſo that this Earledome of *Penbrok* ſeemed equal in dignitie & p*re*heminence to the great and Regall Earledomes of ffraunce *Germanye* and *Italye*.[1]

Fo. 93b, anc. 90b.

Memoran*dum* that all or moſt L$\overline{\text{ps}}$ Marchers and L$\overline{\text{ps}}$ Royall in *Wales*, w^ch^ were woonne by conqueſt from the princes and holden imediatelie of the crowne of England were equall w^th^ this Earledome in Regall authoritie & Juriſdiction, ſaving in title dignitie and degree, and ſavinge in ſteade of Shirieffes, Coron*er*s and Eſcheato*ur*s they had a chiefe Conſtable of their caſtles, Steward*es*, and ſondrie Bayllifes in eache of theſe L$\overline{\text{ps}}$, for I finde no Shirieffe to ſerve vnder anie ſubiecte in *Wales*, but onely in the Counteyes of *Glamorgan* and *Penbrok*, and w^ch^ I thinke was done the rather to Coapte[2] the officer to the place, being made a Countie by taking Example of England, where to everye countie there belonged a Shirieffe. //.

[1] Coke, *Inst.*, iv, cap. 40, gives reasons for his statement that Pembroke was a County Palatine.

[2] Fit.

Of *diuerſe famouſe and learned men that hath lived or ben borne in the Countey of* Penbrok *in former tyme whoſe workes are left and be extante to the poſteritie.* Cap. 25.

Fo. 94a, anc. 91a.

This little ſhire of Pembrok, beinge but ſmall in circuit yeldeth alſoe but a small nomber of learned men to be ſpoken of, that hath lefte anye of theire workes behinde them, yett for that I finde ſome menc*i*oned in former writters I thought good for the better memorye of theſe worthie and profitable members not to ſuffer them vnremembered in this my Diſcripc*i*on of theire Countrey, moſt of them beinge naturall Countreymen borne, the reſt beinge the fewer nomber, for that theire natyve ſoyle was vncertaine yett for that I finde and knowe by certaine meanes that they were *Penbrok ſhere* men by habitac*i*on and longe abode I thought good rather then to omitte anye worthye of remembraunce, to inſerte them here, wherein as I haue ben cheefelye ayded herein by the painefull workes of Mr. *John Bale*[1] whoe hath written amonge manye other good workes of his, a particular volume *De ſcriptoribus brittanniæ* ſoe finde I ſome alſoe mencioned by other good autho*u*rs, and ſome of the later age of myne owne knowledge and memorye, addinge altogether to make vp a ſmall nomber of this my countrey writters, wherein I for ſome reſpectes omytte the nowe lyveinge writters, recommendinge theire names to be regiſtred by theire owne workes, till further occaſion be miniſtred to catalogue theire names, with theſe that followe, begineing firſt with the moſt ancientſt I finde,

Patrick called *Patricius magnus*, whoe (as ſaieth Humffrey lloyd)[2]

[1] John Bale, afterwards Bishop of Ossory, published the first edition (4to.) of this 'painefull worke' at Ipswich in 1548; this was re-issued, with change of imprint but colophon unaltered, at Wesel in Westphalia (*Wesaliæ*) in 1549. During the reign of Mary, 'nunc apud Germanos pro Christi professione peregrinus,' he published an enlarged and revised edition (folio) at Basle in 1559. The author quotes, as a rule, from the earlier edition. Bale liberally admits to his catalogue the names of many persons who were neither British nor writers, *e.g.*, Joseph of Arimathea.

[2] Humphrey Lhuyd of Denbigh, the antiquary, who died in 1568. His autograph will be found in the Cottonian MSS. Cleopatra B. v, and Caligula, A. vi (the latter dated London, 17th July, 1559). This statement of Bale (fo. 25)

was borne in *Rooſe* whome in this point, I take for my author,[1] he lyved about the yeere of Chriſt 432 as ſaieth *Bale* he was brought vpp in greate learneinge with his Vnckle *Martyn* Buſhoppe of *Towres*.[2] a man famouſe in his tyme he inſtructed the Scotts and Iriſhmen in the Chriſtian Religion and Dyed in *Ireland*. *An(n)o ſalutis 491* in the 122 yeere of his age, This *S^t Patrick* founded a Monaſtery at *S^t Dauides* out of the w^ch was afterwardes founded the cathedrall churche there as ſhalbe ſhewed after. he lyeth buried in *Downe*[3] in Ireland, together wi^th the ſaintes *Bridgid* and *Columba*, as appeareth by theſe u*erſes* followinge./.

Hi tres in Duno[3] *tumulo tumulantur in vno*
Brigida Patricius atque Columba pius.

He wrote theſe bookes.

Ad Cereticum tirannum Epist(ola) 1
Ad Aualonias incolas Epist(ola) 1
Ad Hibernenſes eccl(eſ)ias Epist(ole) plurime
Ad ſuos Brittannos Epist(ole) plurime[4]

Dubricius Gwaynianus[5] borne nere the Ryvèr *Gwayn* and thereof tooke his ſurname, a matter verye vſualle for the learned
Fo. 94b, anc. 91b. ſorte amonge the ancient Brittaignes †As *Owen Keuiliog*,[6] *Dauid dy*

about St. Patrick's birth is taken from Lhuyd's *Commentarioli Britannicæ Descriptionis Fragmentum* (Cologne, 1572), fo. 63^b, where he says, speaking of Menevia or St. David's: 'Hic vero in Rosea valle natus fuit magnus ille Patritius qui Iverniam Christiana fide imbuit.' The 'Vallis Rosina' at St. David's in the hundred of Dewisland or Pebidiog has of course nothing to do with the hundred of *Roose* (see note 3 on p. 185, above) or Rhôs. See note (*b*) at the end of this book, on St. Patrick.

[1] *I.e.*, original.

[2] The statement that St. Patrick's mother Conchess (from the Latin *Concessa*) was sister to St. Martin of Tours is found in the notes to the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*. See Stokes' edition (Rolls Series, 1887), p. xv; cf. p. 9. As St. Martin died in 397, and St. Patrick (*ib.*, p. cxliii), seems to have been born in *about* 373, the story (*ib.*, p. 25) that St. Patrick received his tonsure from St. Martin may possibly be true.

[3] In Irish *Dún Leth-glasse*, now called after the saint *Downpatrick* (county Down).

[4] See notes (*c*), (*d*), and (*e*), at the end of this book.

[5] *Gwayn* is throughout a mistake for *Guai* or *Guay*, *i.e.*, the Wye. Bale (fos. 28-9) has *Guainius*, not *Guainianus*, and calls the river *Guainius* too; but in his 2nd ed. (p. 51) he calls the saint *Gainius*, *Vagensis*, and the river *Vaga*, the well-known Latin name for the Wye. See note (*f*) at the end of this book.

[6] Owen Cyfeiliog, son to Gruffudd ap Meredydd ap Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, succeeded to a great part of Powys in 1130, and died in 1197. The commot of Cyfeiliog, whence he took his name, included the parishes of Llanwrin, Cemmais, and Darowen (the three mother-churches), Llanbrynmair, Penegoes, and

hirathig, Dauid Nantmor, Lewis Morganwg, Asserus Menevensis etc.

Machynlleth ; and also Caereinion (alias Gartheiniog) Fechan, the part of the parish of Mallwyd which is now in Montgomeryshire, the remainder of that parish being divided between Mawddwy and Meirionydd, now both in Merionethshire. Cyfeiliog (the lordship of which now belongs to Sir Watkin Wynn) is situate in the lower part of the Vale of Dovey (mainly on its left bank), and is included in the county of Montgomery. Darowen, in Welsh *Dâr Ywain* or 'Owen's Oak', is perhaps so called after Owen Cyfeiliog.

The large parish of Llanwrin, almost wholly on the right bank of the Dovey, and the adjacent township of Caereinion Fechan, previously to *circ.* 1200 formed no part of Cyfeiliog, but were in the commot of Ystum Aner in the cantred of Meirionydd (as to which see note 2 on p. 214, above). See the Inquisition of 1428 printed in *Montgomeryshire Collections*, vol. i (1868), where we find (p. 255) that the parish and township in question, there included under the designation of 'tota terra inter aquas de Dyvi et Dewlas' (the *northern* Diflas, flowing into the Dovey a little above Machynlleth ; there is another that flows in nearly opposite ; both are locally pronounced *Diflas*, not *Dulas* or *Diwlas*), had been held in the time of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth (1194-1240) of two brothers, lords of Meirionydd, by one Einion ap Seissyllt, who, in consequence of a dispute between him and his overlords, transferred his allegiance to Owain Cyfeiliog, and did him homage for the said land, which thus wrongfully became part of Powys (this must have been in 1194-7). In *Brut y Tywysogion* (Rolls ed., p. 360 ; Oxford *Bruts*, p. 380), Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, the last Prince of Gwynedd, is said to have taken this district, there called 'the thirteen townships (*tref*) of Cyfeiliog, which are on the further side of Dyfi, in Rhiw Helyg', together with Arwystli, from Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn of Powys. Arwystli, though annexed to Powys, was later on claimed as part of Gwynedd, as will be seen from the Inquisition already cited, which tells us that Owain ap Gruffudd ap Gwenwynwyn recovered it for Powys after the death of Llywelyn in 1282. This district (which comprises the uppermost basin of the Severn—the part above Moat Lane ; see note 2 on p. 202, above, par. 4) bounded Cyfeiliog on the E., and was and still is in the diocese of Bangor (pre-eminently the diocese of Gwynedd), of which it formed till 1859, like Dyffryn Clwyd (see note 1 on p. 201, above), an outlying portion entirely isolated from the rest of the diocese. The possession of Arwystli by the princes of Gwynedd must of course have involved their possession of the intervening Cyfeiliog ; and accordingly we find the cantred (see note 2 on p. 214, above) composed of the commots of Cyfeiliog and Mawddwy placed by some of the old territorial lists (see Oxford *Bruts*, p. 408) in Gwynedd, by others (see Leland's *Itin.*, v, 17, and *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 327) in Powys Wenwynwyn ; as we have seen, one commot of it is now in Montgomeryshire and the other in Merionethshire, but both were in the diocese of St. Asaph till 1859, when they were transferred by Order in Council to that of Bangor.—E. P.

For Asser, see the note on his name, further on in this chapter.

Dafydd Ddu Hiraddug, a well-known Welsh poet and writer, also called Dafydd Ddu *Athraw*, fl. *circ.* 1340. A Welsh Grammar and Prosody known as *Pum Llyfr Cerddwriaeth*, found in the *Red Book of Hergest*, cols. 1117-1142, and other old MSS., is ascribed to him ; it was extensively edited and added to by Simwnt Fychan (d. 1606), whose autograph MS. now forms No. 15 of the MSS. at Jesus College, Oxford, from a transcript of which was printed the text given in

and is vſed at this daie of our cheefe *Bardi*[1] nowe lyveinge. this Ryver *Gwayn*[2] is that w^ch^ goeth to *Fishgard*, and runneth throwe

the Welsh MSS. Society's *Dosparth Edeyrn Dafod Aur* (1856), p. xlii, etc. He took his bardic surname from the fine pointed hill of Moel Hiraddug (or the place, if any, which gave it its name) between Cwm and Disserth in Flintshire, two miles E. of Rhuddlan—a very prominent object from the railway between Prestatyn and Rhyl. In Lewis' *Top. Dict. of Wales*, *s. v.* 'Cwm', a tradition is recorded that he 'was buried under one of the walls of the [Cwm] church, in fulfilment of his own prediction, that he should neither be buried in or out of it' (the same story is told of Sion Kent, another learned man whom popular tradition handed down as a noted wizard). The effigy of a priest in his robes, inscribed 'Hic jacet David ap Hovel ap Madoc', still preserved in the church of Tremeirchion or Dymeirchion (from *Din Meirchion*), four miles S.S.E. of Cwm church, is generally thought, however, to commemorate Dafydd Ddu.

Dafydd Nanmor, a well-known poet (d. *circ.* 1460), took his surname from Nanmor in the parish of Beddgelert, but on the other side of the Glaslyn (see *Y Cymmrodor*, xi, 59, note 2), and therefore in Merionethshire. It is towards the head of the Traeth Mawr (formed by the estuary of the Glaslyn) and is called by Dr. Thomas Williams of Trefriw, in Hengwrt MS. 306, *Ipotis Ysprytawl*, p. 12, 'Nanmor Deudraeth', from its situation between the Traeth Mawr and the Traeth Bach, the promontory between which same at their point of junction has given its name to the village and station of Penrhyn *Deudraeth*. Gerald (*Itin.*, ii, 5; *Works*, vi, 123-4) mentions the two Traeths (but entirely misplaces the position with reference to them of the two rivers Artro and Dyssynni), and also a 'castrum lapideum' at '*Deutrait*'.

Rhys Nanmor, son to Dafydd Nanmor, and also a *bardd*, lived at St. David's; see Lewis Môn's elegy on him in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 38:

'Nanmor *o Faenor Fynyw*
Nenbren pob awen tra byw.'

(Here the MS. mis-reads *Tynyw* for *Fynyw*.)

Lewis Morganwg was a well-known poet of Glamorgan, who fl. *cir.* 1500-1540.

[1] Gruffudd Hiraethog, Huw Arwystli, William Lleyn (or Llŷn), Bedo Hafesp, Ieuan Dyfi, William Kynwal (who took his name from Dol Gynwal, the old name of Yspytty Ifan), are other instances of the common practice by which a surname derived from a place, river, or district was appended to the baptismal names of Welsh *beirdd*.

[2] For the course of the river Gwaun, see p. 100, above. The oldest mention of the stream is in the version of the tract about Cunedda and his sons preserved in the *Life of St. Carannog* (*Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 100-1), where it is said that the river Gwaun (there spelt *Gvoun*) formed one of the boundaries of the possessions of the sons of Cunedda (which practically means the southern boundary of Ceredigion, said to have been so called from Ceredig ap Cunedda), their other or northern limit being the river *Doubyr Dviv* (now the *Dyfrdwy* or Dee; the readings of the original MS., Cott. Vesp., A. xiv, fo. 94[a], are given here; for the useless printed text has made them into *Dobyr Duis* and *Guoun*) Now in the older version of the same tract found in Harleian MS. 3859 (printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 182-3) the southern boundary of these possessions is said to be the Teifi, which is the only southern boundary of Ceredigion generally known to history (see note 1 on p. 199, and note 1 on p. 216, above). Probably

the valley called *Diffrin Gwayn ;* neyther doe I knowe, anye ryver in *Wales* or *England* of that name but this Ryver only, ſoe that of neceſſitie this moſt be the Ryver, whereof he tooke his name, and the ſoyle wherein he was borne and dwelled, and therefore there is

the Gwaun was substituted for the Teifi in consequence of some temporary conquest, otherwise unrecorded by history, by Ceredigion of an adjacent portion of Dyfed, virtually represented by the hundred of Kemes, with or without (more probably with) that of Emlyn. There are other circumstances which tend slightly to support this theory : (1) That the deaneries (= the ancient cantreds) of Kemes and Emlyn were in 1291 (see *Tax. Eccl.*, p. 272) included, with Ceredigion, in the archdeaconry of Cardigan, not in the archdeaconry of Carmarthen, which included (together with the whole of Ystrad Tywi) the ancient Cantref Gwarthaf, nor in that of St. David's, which consisted of the remaining four cantreds of Dyfed (Rhôs, Pebydiog, Penfro, and Deugleddyf). (2) That the southern boundary of Kemes (for which see *Baronia*, pp. 134-5, where by 'St. *Dogmell's*' the modern St. *Dogwell's* is meant), which passes not far south of the river Gwaun, is not a frontier marked by natural features, but a frontier largely carried across and along valleys as they emerge from the mountain range of Precelly (*Presseleu*), and drawn so as to include the mountains themselves ; in this it resembles (on a small scale) the southern frontier of Brycheiniog towards Morganwg, and both seem frontiers marked out by a conquering people, determined to secure the vantage-ground presented by the mountains, and to have the lowlands of their neighbours at their mercy. It may be noted that, before 1150, Kemes did not reach at its S.W. corner beyond the mouth of the Gwaun, for Giraldus tells us (*De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiæ*, Dist. ii, in *Works*, iii, 154) that in the time of Bernard, Bishop of St. David's 1115-1148, 'terra de Fissigart [Fishguard] provinciæ de Pepidiauc fuit abjurata'—so that previously Fishguard had been in Pebydiog. Crushing invasions of Pebydiog, but it is not known by whom, are mentioned in *Annales Cambriæ* under the years 645 ('Percussio Demeticæ regionis, quando cœnobium David incensum est') and 906 ('*Gueith Dinmeir*, et *Miniu* fracta est' ; the locality of this 'battle of Dinmeir'—or *Din Fair*, as the name would now be pronounced—is unknown ; the *Brut*—Oxford *Bruts*, p. 260—calls it *Dinneirt* [*i.e.*, *Dineirth*], but this place is near the Cardiganshire coast ; see Meyrick's *Cardiganshire*, p. 293). See *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 158, 167. An invasion of Dyfed in the sixth century is referred to in the poem on Cynan Garwyn, King of Powys, in the *Book of Taliessin*, where (Skene's *Four Books*, ii, 173) a battle at a place called *Cruc Dymet* (Old-Welsh for *Crûg Dyfed*, 'the mound of Dyfed') is mentioned, in which *Aercol* (*i.e.*, Aergol ap Tryffun, the contemporary of St. David ; see *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 120) took part. This place is not identified ; nor is the place 'in Dyfed', where Aergol is said to have been buried in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, fo. 35[a] (Skene's *Four Books*, ii, 35). It may be noted that Dyfed (Old-Welsh *Dimet* ; see the end of the next note) is given as a man's name (perhaps a mere *eponymus* of the country) in the genealogy of the kings of Dyfed (see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 171) ; so that *Crûg Dyfed* might have commemorated in tradition a person of the name of Dyfed.

The name *Gwaun* exactly represents the Old-Welsh form *Guoun : guoun* (for the modern South-Welsh *gwaun*, pronounced *gwain*, 'a moor, a wet

noe likelyhood, that he ſhould take his name of the ryver *Wye* called in welſhe *Gwy*, for ſaieth *John Bale* writtinge of this *Dubricius, a ſolo apud demetas*[1] *ſic dictus*, ſoe that it is plaine he was a *Penbrokſhere* man borne, w^ch^ people only are the *Demete*, for the Ryver *Wy* approacheth not neere anye part of *Penbrokſheere;* neyther is there any other Ryver or broocke in all the ſheere callid

meadow') is also found in a late eighth-century document in the *Book of St. Chad* at Lichfield, in *guoun hen lann* (= *Gwaun Henllan*), and in the *Lib. Land.*, *e.g.*, on p. 186. The North-Welsh forms are *gwaen*, *gweun*, and in Anglesey *chwaen;* some 'grammarians' will have it that *gwaun* is a corruption of *gwaen*, and thus a form to be avoided; but this is absurd, for the form *gwaen*, had it existed in S. Wales, must necessarily have become in the popular pronunciation *gwân*, and not *gwain*. In Cornish the forms *guen*, *gwon*, *goen*, *gon*, and *gun* are found; now Anglicized in place-names into *Goon*, *-woon*, and *-oon*.—E. P.

[1] See note (*f*) at the end of this book. With regard to the expression *apud Demetas* used by Bale here and elsewhere, our author is mistaken, not only in supposing that Demetia or Dyfed was co-extensive with Pembrokeshire (as to which still prevalent delusion see note 2 on p. 45, and note 2 on p. 199, above), but in thinking that the word *Demetia* was always strictly used to denote Dyfed proper. On the contrary, it was *occasionally* loosely used in the sense of 'South Wales'. So Lifris or Leofric, Abbot of Llancarvan (fl. *circ.* 1100), begins his *Life of St. Cadoc* (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 22) by saying that Glywys, the prince from whom Glywyssing, the district extending from the Usk to the Towy (see note 1 on p. 208, above), took its name, 'regnabat in quibusdam finibus Britannicæ regionis, quæ *Demetica* vocabatur'; now there is no evidence to show that the real Demetia or Dyfed ever extended south of Towy. In the old version of the *Cognatio de Brychan* copied by Sir John Price of Brecon into MS. Cott., Domitian, A. i, Brycheiniog is spoken of (fo. 157^b^) as 'pars *Demetie*, *i.e.*, Suthwallie'; now Brycheiniog never that we know formed part of Dyfed. This sense of *Demetia* is also supposed to occur in a passage of Florence of Worcester (see *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 603), where a body of Irish pirates lands on the banks of Severn 'in loco qui dicitur *Wylesceaxan*', and, in conjunction with Gruffudd ap Llywelyn, crosses the river *Weage* (Wye) and '*Dymedham* incenderunt': 'against whom come Aldred, Bishop of Worcester, and a few of the men of Gloucester and Hereford.' This passage presents great difficulties. It is taken (partly, at least) from a passage in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which (in its present form, at least, for Florence used versions of it that no longer exist) simply states that the ships arrived at *the Welsh Axe* (*comon upp on Wylisce Axa*), 'and thereabouts did harm, with the aid of Griffith [ap Llywelyn], the Welsh king' (*A.-S. Chron.*, Rolls ed., i, 310, and, in the translation, ii, 142). Now it is impossible from the context that by 'the Welsh Axe' can be meant either the Axe whose course lies on the borders of Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, or the Axe of N. Somerset; and the *Usk* seems to be the river meant. But if the invaders crossed the Wye from the side of the Usk, they would not be crossing from England into Wales, but from Wales into England, and therefore there seems to be some mistake or confusion in the passages under discussion. *Dyfed* is called *Deomed* and *Deomod* (= O.-Welsh *Dimet*—see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 171—, **Demet*; cf. *Dofet*, *Hanesyn Hên*, p. 77), in *A.-S. Chron.*, i, 190-1.—E. P.

Gweyn, ſave this only that runneth by *ffishgard*[1]: beſide he is remembred yett in ancient writtinges in the Welſh tongue by the ancient *Bardi* by the name of *Dubrick o lan gwayn* ſounding the B in that place after the greeke *beta* as is vſually don in that language.[2] This *Dubricius* (ſaieth *Mr. Bale*) in his youthe was famowſe for his ſingular learneinge ſayeinge *Maximus apud Brittannos nominis vir erat*, in ſoe much that not only out of his owne countrey, but of the Regions round aboute, there reſorted greate flockes of ſchollers to be by him inſtructed in learneinge, ſoe that he kept famouſe ſcholes vpon the Ryver ſide of *Gwayn*,[3] he was a mightie overthrowe to the *Pelagian hereſie*[4] w^ch^ in

[1] See note 5 on p. 220, above. This place-name also occurs in the Isle of Man, where there are a *Fishgarth* and a *Fistard* (see A. W. Moore's *Surnames and Place-Names of the Isle of Man*, London, 1890, pp. 255, 284, where the form 'Fiskigarðr' is given from Iceland, and also a mysterious '*Fisgarth*, Trent'; there is a *Fiskerton* on the Trent between Newark and Southwell, Notts, and another near Lincoln—this is the Norse form of *Fisherton*, two places of which name are found in Wilts). Fistard is in the very S.W. of the Isle of Man, close to Port St. Mary. The *st* of the word stands for an *sc*, according to the rule in Manx, by which, *e.g.*, Irish *uisge* 'water', becomes in Manx *ustey*.—J. R.

[2] In the MS. the *B* is altered from a prior *v*. It would be interesting to know what writings and what *Bardi* are referred to here. What the author must mean is that *Dubrick*, though so written, was pronounced *Duvrick*, as in Greek the pronunciation of β is said to have approximated to *v* (it was occasionally used to represent both the digamma and the Latin *v*, and in Modern Greek is pronounced like *v*). The *b* of *Dubric* (later *Dibric*, *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 156) is really an Old-Welsh *b*, now an *f* (pronounced *v*); and these two forms cannot have been used in Welsh literature later than the 11th century, except, as fossil forms, by those who, ignorant of the living Middle-Welsh form of the name, *Dyvric*, took the Old-Welsh form from books. On the name itself see note 4 on p. 206, above.

[3] See note 5 on p. 220, above.

[4] No authority for this statement has been found by the writer earlier than a marginal note in the *Liber Landavensis*, written in the 15th century; it is on the word *Germani* in the passage 'Abbas Ildutus Sancti Germani discipulus' (see *Book of Llann Dâv*, Oxford, 1892, p. 10, = Rees' edition, top of p. 12), and runs as follows: 'scilicet Altissiodorensis, qui heresim Pelagianam cum doctoribus Britanie Dubricio Teliao et Dauid feliciter extinxit.' As far as regards St. Dubricius, this statement is apparently to be traced to the passages of the *Life* contained in the *Lib. Land.*, pp. 65-6, where it is said that SS. Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes, after extirpating the Pelagian heresy, appointed several bishops in Britain, and amongst them St. Dubricius to the 'Archiepiscopate' of 'Dextralis Pars Britanniæ', which expression, more or less translated from the Welsh *Deheubarth*, seems here to include the whole of S. Wales to the W. of Wye. The statement of the older Life is copied by Benedict of Gloucester (§§ iii, iv—see Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, ii, 656) and John of Tinmouth (see Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, fo. 87[a]).

his tyme had corrupted the whole church of *Brittaigne*, and for his excellent learneinge he was made Archbuſhopp of *Carleon*[1] and *metropolitan* of *Wales* by *Aurelius Ambroſius* Kinge of *Brittaigne*, he beinge Archbuſhopp crowned *Vther Pendragon* and after him the worthie Kinge *Arthur* Kinges of *Brittaigne*,[2] he died in the tyme of Kinge *Arthur* the 13th daie of *Nouember* in the yeare of our Lord 522 as ſaieth myne author,[3] his fame ſoe flouriſhed after his liffe

Godwyn[4] fol. 413.

that 598 yeeres after his deathe his bodie was removed from his firſt buryall[5] to the church of *Llandaffe* by the meanes of *Vrbane*

Geoffrey does not mention St. Dubricius in connection with the Pelagian heresy.

[1] The old life of St. Dubricius in the *Lib. Land.* (written at about the same time as Geoffrey's work) says nothing whatever of St. Dubricius being bishop of Caerleon. See note (*g*) at the end of this book.

[2] These last statements are from Geoffrey of Monmouth; there is no other authority for them, though many have copied them from him. For St. Dubricius' appointment to the see of Caerleon-on-Usk, see the end of Book viii, chapter 12 (and for the existence of the see itself, see note (*g*) at the end of this book); for the crowning of Uther (in connection with which, however, St. Dubricius is not mentioned), see viii, 17; for his crowning of Arthur, see ix, 13 (cf. 1).

[3] 'Myne author', *i.e.*, Bale, must have taken this date from one of the many 'historians', who, adopting Geoffrey's work or the *rechauffées* thereof as history, took upon themselves (with an exactitude which the original scorns) to construct from and adapt to Geoffrey's narrative a precise chronology. All Geoffrey tells us (ix, 15) is that Dubricius, aspiring to become a hermit, retires from the 'archbishopric' of Caerleon, and is succeeded therein by St. David. He does not mention his death.

[4] Francis Godwin, Bishop of Llandaff, 1601-1617, and afterwards of Hereford until his death in 1633, accompanied Camden to Wales in 1590. His 'Catalogue of the Bishops of England', from which the author quotes, was published in 1601. He was then 'Sub-deane of Exeter'. An enlarged edition was brought out in 1614 or 1615, but this, being, as the Bishop says himself in the 1616 edition, p. 642, *mendosissime editus*, was superseded by a corrected *Latin* edition published at London in 1616, intituled *De Præsulibus Angliæ Commentarius*. The Latin edition was reprinted in folio at Cambridge in 1743, in two forms, in one and two volumes respectively, with different paginations.

[5] See his Life in *Lib. Land.*, pp. 80-1, where it is said that St. Dubricius, giving up his *opus episcopi*, embraced the *heremitalem vitam* in Ynys Enlli or Bardsey Island, where he died on the 14th November, 612, and was buried; and that his remains were translated thence on the 7th May, 1120, and received into Llandaff Cathedral on the 23rd of the same month. The date 612 is that of the *Annales Cambriæ*, but seems quite irreconcileable both with the mention of him in connection with St. Samson in the Life of that saint, an authority three-and-a-half centuries older than the *Annales* (see note (*q*) at the end of this book), and with the fact (see *Lib. Land.*, pp. 101-2) that St. Dubricius' chief pupil, St. Teilo, after his appointment to the Bishopric of Llandaff, retired to Brittany to escape the Yellow Plague of 547. Moreover, the same *Annales*

buſhopp of Llandaffe his workes (as ſaieth *Mr Bale*) left behinde him were theſe

Declamationum eruditarum[1] *li*(*ber*) 1.
Viri chriſtiani profeſſio.[2]
In Arthuri Coronatione oratio vna.[3]

Dauid comonly callid *S*^{t} *Dauid* borne[4] in the citie of *S*^{t} *Dauids* called then *Meneve* or *Mynyw* in the brittiſhe tongue, and ſeethence[5] of him called *S*^{t} *Dauides* This *Dauid* was a man of greate parentage and neere of kyne to the worthie Kinge *Arthur*[6] King of *England* by whom he was p*re*ferred to be Archbuſhopp of *Carleon* the metropolitan ſee of *Wales* and primate of the ſame,[7] beinge in the tyme of Kinge *Arthur* on of the cheefe flouriſhinge cities of all *Brittaigne* as is yett to be ſeene by the ruyns[8] thereat founde a

place in 606 the death of Bishop Cynog, who is said in the list of the 'Archbishops' of St. David's given in Gerald's *Works*, vi, 102 (where in some MSS. he is called *Ceneu;* is he meant by the St. *Genocus* who, with St. Biteus 'et aliis religiosis Britonibus', accompanies St. Cadoc's disciple, St. Finnian of Clonard, from Britain to Ireland?—see St. Finnian's Life in *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, Bruges, 1888, col. 195), to have succeeded St. Teilo in the see of St. David's. See note (*h*), and the end of note (*q*), at the end of this book. Probably some annalist misread 'DCXII' for 'DXXII' or 'DXII', and Geoffrey here (for a wonder) stumbled upon the correct chronology. (See *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 165-6.) —E. P.

[1] Bale gives this list of Dubricius' works on the authority of Capgrave. It is not clear what the 'Declamationes eruditæ' refer to.

[2] By this is meant the speech which, in Geoffrey, ix, 4, Dubricius makes to Arthur's army at the siege of Mount Badon, which begins with the words 'Viri Christiana professione insigniti!' Here the author has misquoted Bale, who has (ed. 1548, fol. 29[a]), 'Viri christiana professione'.

[3] No such *oratio* is to be found, or is even alluded to, in Geoffrey's account of the ceremony (ix, 12, 13). Geoffrey there says (c. 12) that Dubricius 'tanta religione clarebat, ut quemque languore gravatum *orationibus suis* sanaret'.

[4] St. David is said to have been born on the actual site of the cathedral of St. David's (see Gerald's *Works*, iii, 383; *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 121). See note (*i*) at the end of this book.

[5] Since.

[6] See note (*m*) at the end of this book.

[7] See note (*g*) at the end of this book.

[8] See Gerald's *Itin.*, i, 5 (*Works*, vi, 55-6), for a striking but perhaps rather highly-coloured description of the ruins of Caerleon in his time. The account of St. David's attributed to our author, printed in Browne Willis' *St. David's*, thus mentions (p. 66) another Caerleon near St. David's: 'There is said to have been a Town formerly near the Burrows, call'd *Caer-Leon*, which has its name from old *Caer-Legion*, or *Caer-Len*, in Monmouthshire, from whence St. David removed the See to St. David's.' In the old lists of the cities of Britain (for one of which see Stevenson's *Nennius*, p. 80, and *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 183), both Caerleon-on-Usk and Chester are called *Cair Legion* (= *Castrum Legionis*), the city on the Usk being distinguished by the suffix *guar Uisc* (= *gwar Wysc*,

myle out of the nowe decayed towne in corne fieldes and other places where vautes, ſtreetes, and other buildinges are founde by plowinge and digginge, *Mr Bale*, ſaieth this *Dauid* over and beſide his fame for learneinge and knowledge was comelye, faiere, and
Fo. 95a, anc. 92a. beautifull, and 4 cubitts[1] †of height, he builded (ſaieth he) xij monaſteries[2] and by his vnceſſant laboures vtterly confuted and purged the church of the *Pelagian hereſie*,[3] being thought before his tyme irrecoverable, he was ſoe inwarde[4] with King *Arthur* as that he optained of the king to tranſferr the Archbuſhopp ſee from *Caerleon* to his owne Towne of *S^t Dauid*[5] where, to this daie it remaineth,

'on Usk'; *o war*, 'from above', is still commonly used in western S. Wales). Later on, Chester was (and is still) called in Welsh *Caer Lleon*, and Caerleon *Caer Llion* (*Llion* would seem to be a dialectic modification from an older **Lleion*); and this distinctiveness of appellation is generally, if, indeed, not invariably, kept up in Middle-Welsh, *e.g.*, in the *Mabinogion* and *Brut y Tywysogion* (see the indexes to the Oxford *Mabinogion* and *Bruts*, and to the Rolls *Brut y Tywysogion*). The modern English form 'Caerleon' phonetically represents *Caer Llion*, not *Caer Lleon;* and the Anglicised form *Carleen* (with the accent on the last syllable), now in use in Monmouthshire, represents the contracted Welsh form *Caerlin* (cf. *Caerlen*, cited above), twice used by our author in his 'Description of Wales' (see *Appendix* to this work) under 'Monmouthshire'. In Cornwall there are at least three places called by a similar name: Carlian or Carlyon in the parish of Kea near Truro (Gilbert's *Cornwall*, ii, 308); Carlean (close to Trelowarren) in the parish of St. Mawgan in Meneage; and Carlion, in the parish of St. Minver (Hundred of Trigg), nearly opposite the town of Padstow. From the place in Kea the well-known Cornish family of Carlyon (now represented by the Carlyons of Tregrehan) took their family name; see, too, Burke's *Commoners*, iv, 22-3, where Gilbert is quoted as saying that there was once a seaport town of the name on the N.-W. coast of Cornwall (the ultimate source of this statement was perhaps Walter Scott's *Sir Tristrem*, 1804, pp. 75, 279-80, where Tristrem is said to take ship from *Carlioun* haven to Dublin). None of the Cornish Carlyons seems to have been the site of a Roman station, or at least of an important one.

We do not know whether the Caer Leon near St. David's is the same as Gerald's '*Kairmorva*, *i.e.*, urbs maritima vel castrum', in the church of which he says that Gildas preached before St. David while the latter was *in utero matris*. (See as to this, note (*i*) at the end of this book, and the *Life of St. David*, ii, in Gerald's *Works*, iii, 381.)

See further, on the name *Caer Lleon*, note (*j*) at the end of this book.—E. P.

[1] The English cubit is 18 inches, the Hebrew 22.

[2] See note (*k*) at the end of this book.

[3] See note (*l*) at the end of this book.

[4] Intimate. Compare Job, xix, 19, 'My inward friends.'

[5] This story is quoted as history by Gerald, *Works*, vi, 56, 101-2, 120. In the first of these passages he quotes Geoffrey of Monmouth's 'Prophecy of Merlin' (Geoffrey, vii, 3, San Marte's ed., p. 93): 'Menevia pallio Urbis Legionum induetur.'

although without archedignitie, w^ch^ longe since hath ben ſurrepted,[1] as in my ſeconde booke treatinge of the place, I will declare, he lived in the tyme of King *Arthur* and dyed as ſaieth an ancient catalogue of the buſhoppes of that ſee, shortely after his vnckle King *Arthur*,[2] vid*elicet* in the yeere, 542[3]: and in the 147 yeere of his age, therein agreeinge with the age of the *Patriarch Jacob* at the time of his death[4] and was archb*uſhopp* lxv yeeres and was buryed in *S^t^ Dauides* in a monaſterie w^ch^ *S^t^ Patrick* had founded there/[5]

He wrote theſe Bookes

Contra Pelag(ianos): li : 1
Homelias Euangeliorum li : 1.

Merlyn the greate prophett and a cheefe barde of his tyme as ſaieth *Mr. Bale*, was borne in *Demetia*, this *Merlyn* is famouſe yett amonge the people of this age for the greate learneinge he ſhewed, *Bale* ſpeaketh of two[6] *Merlyns* the on lyveing in the tyme of Kinge *Arthur*, the other in the tyme of *Aurelius Ambroſius*./

Sampſon Demeta[7] is onlye remembered of Mr. *Bale* in the addition annexed to the ende of his booke, he lived about the yeere of Chriſt 560, and ſoe paſſeth him over, and ſo muſt I makeinge onlye menc*i*on of his name for wante of further enformac*i*on.

[1] Taken away by fraud. See Gerald, *Works*, iii, 151 ; vi, 103 ; and the end of note (*q*) at the end of this book.

[2] See note (*m*) at the end of this book.

[3] The 10th century *Annales Cambriæ* (the only authority) place the death of Arthur at the Battle of Camlan in 537 ; it is a question, however, how far this date was calculated on the basis of the date of 516, given for the previous (and historical) Battle of Mount Baddon (where Arthur is said by 'Nennius', Stevenson's ed., § 56, to have commanded the victorious British forces) in the same chronicle ; which last date M. de la Borderie, in *Rev. Celt.*, vi, 1-13, shows conclusively to be an impossible one, the true date of the battle of Mount Baddon being apparently 493. The same writer also points out (p. 2) that the compiler of the *Annales* has annexed to his account of the Battle of Mount Baddon (called by 'Nennius' the twelfth of Arthur's alleged 'twelve battles') some of the details given by 'Nennius' in his account of the eighth battle, viz., that of 'Castellum Guinnion'; which creates a doubt as to which of these two battles the Annalist found placed (or reason to place) under 516.

[4] See note (*n*) at the end of this book.

[5] No Life of St. David has been preserved to us earlier than that by Rhygyfarch, who died (aged 43) in 1097-9, at least five hundred years after the saint's death. The received Welsh tradition placed his birth at St. David's. See note 4 on p. 227, above, and note (*o*) at the end of this book.

[6] Merlin Emrys or Ambrosius, the wonder-worker, who is associated with Carmarthen, and ascribed to the end of the fifth century, and Merlin Caledonius, or the Wild, the prophet of the northern Britons at the end of the sixth century. See note (*p*) at the end of this book.

[7] See note (*q*), on St. Samson, at the end of this book.

Johannes Patricius alias Erigena[1] a man borne in *S^t Dauides in Pembrokſhere* was a ſtudent at *Athens* and was experte in the greeke, Chaldean and Arabian tongues, and viſited all the ſcholes of Philoſophie of his tyme, he haveinge travelled *Italie* and *Fraunce*, and there receaveinge greate Intertainement of *Carolus Calvus*, and *Ludovicus balbus*[2] tranſlated the workes of *Dioniſius Ariopogita* into the laten tongue, beinge ſent theither from *Conſtantinople* *Anno Chriſte* 858 and then retorneinge to his Countrey purpoſed to lyve privatlye at *S^t Dauids*, but his fame not ſuffering it, he was ſent for by *Ælphred* King of England to inſtruct both him and his children w^ch^ King Alphred beinge by meanes of his good inſtructor inflamed with the deſire of learneinge, by his good p*er*ſwaſions firſt founded the univerſitie of *Oxford*, and appointed this his ſcholem*aſter* to be the firſt teacher and reader of the ſame
Fo. 95b, anc. 92b. uniu*er*ſitie of librall Artes †in his later yeeres he withdrewe himſelfe to the Abbey of *Malmeſburie* where he was ſlaine, *Anno Chriſti* 884 of his workes theſe are extante,

De Innaculatis miniſterijs li: 1
De fide contra barbaros li: 1
De corpore et ſanguine d(om)ini li: 1
Pro Instituendis nobilium filiis li: 1
Verſiones Dioniſij li: 1
Moralia Aristotelis li: 9
In hierarchiam comentarios li: 4
In theologiam miſticam li: 1
Paraphraſticos Tomos li: 1
Epiſtolas ad diverſos li: 1
Dogmata philoſophorum li: 1

Aſſerus Meneuenſis[3] a famowſe hiſtoriographer of his tyme a man borne in *S^t Dauids* and was Chancello*u*r there till by the tyrannye

[1] Johannes Scotus Erigena was born in the British Islands, but where is uncertain. He has been claimed for England, Scotland, and Ireland. The author, following Bale, claims him for Wales. Bale's account of Erigena and his works is not to be relied on. See note (*r*) at the end of this book, on *Erigena*.

[2] Louis the Stammerer, who died in 879, was King of Aquitaine during the lifetime of his father, Charles the Bald, who died in 877.

[3] Asser, according to tradition, was born at Tref Asser in Pencaer. He was made Bishop of Sherborne, and died in 910. The *De rebus gestis Ælfredi Magni* contains a chronicle from 849 to 887, and King Alfred's life to 893. The original text of Asser's *Annals of Alfred* was preserved in a MS. at least as old as the early part of the 11th century, the Cottonian MS. *anciently* numbered Otho, A. xii, destroyed in the fire at Ashburnham House in 1731. This was printed by Archbishop Parker in 1574, who unfortunately amalgamated

of the Kinge of *Demetia* he was forced to forſake his countrey. who afterwardes for his learneinge was by Kinge *Alphred* made Buſhoppe of *Saliſbury*, he wrote

The Brittiſhe hiſtory
The liffe of Kinge Alphred

Giraldus Cambrenſis our deere and loveinge countreyman, to whom above all other our Countrey is moſt beholdinge, was borne in *Manerbyre* pariſhe of honorable Diſcent and parentage, was m*aſte*r of the Engliſhe ſcholes in the vniverſitie of *Paris* and moderator of Divinitie there, afterward*es* for his learneinge required to come to *England*, was ſecretarie to Kinge *Hen:* 2. and had the education of Kinge *John* in his youthe, and was with him in Ireland, where he wrote the diſcripcion and originall hiſtorie of that Countrey. he travelled with *Archbuſhop Baldwyn* throw out all *Wales* and wrotte the diſcripc*i*on of that Countrey alſoe, and then acompanied the *Archbu(ſhop)* into the *holye land*, and retorneinge home he followed the cauſe for the Churche of *S^t^ Dauides* at *Roome*, againſt the prerogatyue of *Canterburie* then firſt pretended over *S^t^ Dauides*, he was Archdecon of *S^t^ Dauides* & *Brecknock* where he dwelled,

his text with part of a later Chronicle (see the *Preface* to *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 79, § 186) of very little originality or value, compiled about the end of the 12th century (one of the sources used for this work being the *Life of St. Edmund*, by Abbo of Fleury, who was killed in 1004), which he apparently imagined to be the work of Asser; it has since been printed by Gale in his *Quindecim Scriptores* (ed. Oxford, 1691), pp. 141-75, under the title of 'Chronicon Fani S. Neoti, sive Annales Johannis Asserii, ut nonnullis videtur'. Parker also seems to have adulterated his text from other sources. The celebrated forged passage relating to the University of Oxford (which will be found in *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 489-90) was first printed by Camden in the 5th edition of his *Britannia* (1600), pp. 331-2 (cf. the 4th ed., 1594, p. 281), and subsequently in Camden's edition of Asser (which *mainly* follows Parker's) printed at Frankfort in 1603; Camden alleged that he took the passage out of an excellent copy of Asser written in the time of Richard II, but no one, perhaps not even Camden himself, has ever seen a MS. containing the passage. (See James Parker's *Early History of Oxford*, p. 43). Another edition of Asser was brought out by Wise (who used the old MS. as well as Parker's and Camden's editions) in 1722; copies of the old MS. also exist in the *present* Otho, A. xii (which is without most of Parker's interpolations), and in No. 100 of the MSS. at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, both made in the 16th century. The latest complete edition of Asser is printed in *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, pp. 467-498, where the passages which are ascertained not to have been in the *original* Otho, A. xii, are placed within brackets. For the complicated question of the senseless interpolations in Asser's text, through which the value of his work has been so unjustly depreciated, see the *Preface* to *M. H. B.*, pp. 77-81 (text and notes), and also the foot-notes to the text of Asser in the body of the same work, pp. 467-8, 489-90.

he was 70 yeares of age and lyeth buryed at *S^t Dauides*. he was a greate writter in his tyme and a dilligent ſearcher of antiquities, Amonge manye of his workes theſe followinge came to light.

Topographiam hib(er)nie *li: 1*
Diſtinctionum eiuſdem *li: 3:*
Odeporicon Cambriæ *li: 1.*
Itinerarium Cambriæ *li: 1*
Topographiam Cambriæ *li: 1:*
Epitomen eius Rhithmice[1] *li: 1:*
Vitam Henrici ſecundi *li: 1:*
Inſtitutionem principis *li: 1:*
Speculum Eccleſiaſticum *li: 1:*
Acta regis Johannis *li: 1:*
De mundi mirabilibus *li: 1:*
De machumei nequitijs *li: 1:*
De viſi[2] *ſaxonum Regibus* *li: 1.*
Anglorum Chronicon *li: 1.*
Pro Guidone Warwiſenſi *li 1:*
Prerogatiuorum Compotum *li 1:*
Dialogum quoque *li: 1:*

Fo. 96a, anc. 93a. †He alſo in his painefull travells and jorneys to Rome in defence of the *Prerogatyue Metrapolitan of S^t Dauides* againſt the Archbuſhopp *of Canterbury* wrote a booke[3] intituled *De ſudoribus circa ſedem Menevenſem*, w^ch as it appeareth, came to the handes of *S^r John Price*[4] knight a painefull and affectious[5] gent. to his countrey.

Mauricius Morganenſis ſaieth *Mr. Bale* borne in *Penbrokſhere*[6] he

[1] This has been attributed to Walter Mapes; see *Gerald the Welshman*, p. 156.

[2] Apparently the *Gewissi*, or people of Wessex, are meant.

[3] This was probably a copy of the *Liber Invectionum*. The author's, or rather Bale's, account of 'our deare and lovinge countreyman' is as inaccurate as those of the preceding worthies. Bale, in his second edition, gives a list of sixty of Gerald's works. Gerald was a voluminous writer, but he certainly did not write 'on the wickedness of Mohammed', or 'for Guy of Warwick'. For the list of Gerald's authentic works see *Gerald the Welshman*, p. 28.

[4] Of Brecon, the celebrated Welsh antiquary (born in 1502-3), author of the *Historiæ Britannicæ Defensio* (1573), written in answer to Polydore Virgil, and joint author with Humphrey Lhuyd of Denbigh of the Description of Wales, preserved in the Cottonian MS., Caligula, A. vi (written in 1559), and first printed in Dr. David Powel's *Historie of Cambria* in 1584. He also brought out the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in Welsh in 1555. The Balliol College MS. 353 is almost entirely in Sir John Price's autograph, and contains (*inter alia*) his entries of his marriage (on Oct. 11, 1534) and of the births of his children (fos. 6, 124).

[5] Industrious and affectionate.

[6] *In australi Cambriâ* (*Cambrorum patriâ*, 2nd ed.) *apud Demetas oriundus*,

lyved aboute the yere 1210 he was a famouſe poett in his tyme and learned and wrote

Epigramata quædam *li: 1:*
In patrio ſermone *li: plu(rimi)*

Adam Hotton borne at *Caervoryok*[1] in *Dewiſtland* deſcended of worſhipfull parentage and for his learneing preferred to the ſee of *S^t Dauides* and was lorde Chancelour of *England* to Kinge *Ri: 2:* he was founder and builded *S^t Maryes Colledg* in *S^t Dauids* in the tyme of Ed: 3, he wrote

Statuta Eccl(eſ)ie Meneu(enſis)

Henrye Chichelſey was made Buſhopp of *S^t Dauides* in the yeere of Chriſt 1409 was afterwards tranſlated from thence to *Canterburie* he was founder of *All ſoules Colledg* in *Oxford* and gaue the churches of *S^t Cleres* and *Llangeinith*[2] to the maintenance thereof; he was

says Bale (1st ed.), fo. 98[a] (2nd ed., p. 257); but for the loose use of the words *Demetæ* and *Demetia* to mean the whole of South Wales, see note 1 on p. 224, above. His epithet *Morganensis* (*Morganius*, 2nd ed.), indicates that he was a native of Gwlad Morgan (Glamorgan), or Morganwg; and Gerald (*De Instructione Principum*, Dist. iii, cap. 28, in Brewer's ed., p. 162), who calls him 'vir bonus et copiose litteratus', places his residence in that district, and says that he was the brother of Clement, Abbot of Neath. See note (*s*) at the end of this book.

[1] In the parish of Whitchurch. He was Bishop of St. David's from 1361 to 1389. His statutes, which are still extant, among other things regulated the rate of wages and the price of beer among his 'subjects' of Pebidiog (see Bevan's *St. David's*, p. 136). He was made Chancellor by Edward III, and re-appointed on the accession of Richard II (see Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, i, 239), and was buried in the chapel of his college at St. David's.

[2] Two alien priories, in Carmarthenshire and English Gower respectively, suppressed by Henry VI (see Dugdale's *Monasticon*, ed. 1825, vi, 1047, 1056). The first (which gives its name to the parish and station of St. Clear's) was a cell to St. Martin de Campis in Paris, the second to the Abbey of St. Taurinus at Evreux in Normandy.

The parish of Llangennith, which is situated in the far west of the peninsula of *English* Gower (see note 1 on p. 200, above), is so (or similarly) spelt in the *Survey of Gower*, and in Welsh *Llangenydd;* but the form *Lann Cinith*, found in the MS. of the *Liber Landavensis* ('Book of Llann Dâv,' p. 279 = Rees' edition, p. 267), makes it probable that the correct form in modern Welsh should be *Llangynydd*, and that *Cenydd* is a dialectic variant like *cebydd* for *cybydd*, used (*e.g.*) at Llandovery (Professor Rhys attributes such forms to dissimilation, like *dewin*, 'a wizard', from the Latin *divinus*), or a mere English corruption. John of Tinmouth's *Life of St. Cenydd* has both forms, as given in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda Angliæ* (*Kynedus* and *Kenedus*, fo. 205[a], etc.), Tanner MS. 15 (*Kynedus* and *Kinedus*, pp. 363-5), and Bodley MS. 240 (*Kenedus*, p. 617) William of Worcester, *Itin.*, p. 116, calls him 'Sanctus *Keneth* de villa *Keneth* in Gowerland'.

Some miles to the E. (a little to the S.E. of Gower Road or Gowerton Station)

of ſinguler witte,[1] and flowinge eloquence, and was one of the iij that were ſent to the gen*er*all Counſell of *Piſe*[2] *anno* 1409. He alſoe in the parliament at *Leiſter*[3] in the ſeconde yere of kinge hen: 5: by his witte, learneinge and elloquence vttered in an oration did deffend the temporall lyveinges of the buſhoppes, abbottes and clergie of *England* w^ch^ then in the ſaied Parliament was valued to be able to ſuſtaine to the Kinges hono*ur* and ſtrength of the Realme xv Earles, xv hundred knightes ſixe thouſand and two hundred Eſquiors, an hundred almes houſes for the poore and Twentie thouſand poundes a yeere to the kinge, and ſhould haue been ſeaſed into the kinges handes, and preſerved the ſame from a mightie downefall, w^ch^ fore terrified the hartes of the clergie of that age but by this good Buſhopp was quaſhed and never after remembred till the tyme of Kinge *Henrie the eight.*

Thomas Rodburne buſhopp of *S^t^ Dauides*, lyved in the tyme of *Henrye* the *4* and *1412* wrote

A Cronicle of England[4]

Fo. 96b, anc. 93b. †*Stephen Patrington*[5] buſhopp of *S^t^ Dauides* allthoughe a Northern man borne, yett Ingraffed by his place in this Soyle was confeſſor to *Henrie the 5.* and wrote theſe volumes obijt *Londini* 1470

is another place called in the Ordnance Map *Cae 'r Gynydd* (*Cynydd*, 'increase', is *masculine*, and 'the field of increase' would therefore be *Cae 'r Cynydd*), but in the *Survey of Gower* called *Curgenith*, *Curgenidd* (pp. 9-10), *Cregenith* (p. 105), and *Kergenith* (p. 113). This name seems really to be *Caer Gynydd*, and probably commemorates the locality where tradition placed the birth of the saint, who is said (Capgrave, *loc. cit.*) to have been born 'a mile from the palace of King Arthur, who was then holding his court at Christmas in a province named Gwyr', *i.e.*, Gower ; the printed text has *Soyr*, but the MSS. cited above read *Goyr*, *Goir*, respectively). The 'palace' alluded to is probably that of Aber Llychwr (now practically represented by *Loughor*, in Welsh 'Câs *Llychwr*' for an older 'Castell *Llychwr*'—see note 1 on p. 209, above—, and the site of the Roman station *Leucarum*), said by tradition (see *Iolo MSS.*, pp. 63, 69, 71, 73 ; and cf. *ib.*, 38, with *Black Book of Carm.* in Skene's *Four Books*, ii, 29) to have been the principal seat of Urien Rheged and his son Owen, who both became important characters in the Arthurian Romance. See the conclusion to note (*b*) at the end of this book.—E. P.

[1] Intellect ; see *Midsummer Night's Dream*, iii, 1.

[2] Pisa in Italy.

[3] See Hall's *Chronicle*, Henry V, second year.

[4] He was Bishop from 1433 to 1442. Bale (1st ed., fo. 184^b^) merely says that he wrote a *Chronicon perpulchrum.*

[5] Bishop from 1415 to 1417. He was 'from the diocese of York'. Did his family name come from the town of *Patrington* in Holderness?

Comentariorum ſententiarum *li: 4*
Repertorium argumentorum *li: 1:*
De Sacerdotale functione lect *li: 1:*
Contra wickleuistas *li: 1:*
In Paulum ad Titum *li: 1:*
Contra Nicholaum Herford *li: 1:*
Sermonum 72 de tempore *li: 1:*
Sermonum de S(an)ctis *li: 1:*
In Eglogas Theodoli *li: 1:*
In Eſopi fabulas *li: 1:*
Questionum ordinariorum *li: 1:*
Epistolarum ad diuerſos *li: 1:*

John a Kent[1] a famouſe Doctour of divinitie as appeareth by his devyne workes w^ch^ will not be forgotten till the worldes ende he was a learned poett wherein he had a favoure of nature, and therefore hath in the welſhe tongue left manye notable workes, he lived in the tyme of king *Ri: 3;* as mr. *hollingſhed* noteth, He was borne in the lordſhipp of *Kilgarran* in *Penbrokſhere*, as appeareth by ſome of his owne works[2] I finde an other *John a Kent* that lyved in the tyme of kinge *H: 3*, but what countreyman he was I knowe not

[1] John Kent (*Sion Cent*), priest of Kentchurch in Herefordshire. Holinshed (*Reign of Richard III, ad fin.*) puts him at the end of the fifteenth century, but (unless we are to suppose that two distinct persons are confused under his name) he certainly died earlier; for there was a poetical contest between him and Rhys Gôch Eryri, the contemporary of Owen Glendower, who is said to have lived from 1330 to 1420 (see Rhys' poem in *Ceinion Llenyddiaeth Cymreig*, i, 135-6). He wrote also theological works, of a Lollard complexion, in the Latin tongue, and was one of the best Welsh poets of his age. Quite forty of his poetical compositions are preserved in MS., and some of them will be found printed in *Ceinion Llenyddiaeth Cymreig*, i, 112-121, and *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 20-3.

[2] In *Ceinion Llenyddiaeth Cymreig*, i, 112, allusions (*crybwylliadau*), from which it may be inferred that he was born in the Lordship of Cilgerran, are said to occur in some of his poetical compositions; but Canon Silvan Evans and other Welsh scholars have not come across any passage to this effect in his Welsh poetical works. Bale (who does not mention him in his first ed.) says in his second ed. (p. 622), 'Joannes Kent, vel potius *Cayleg*, in ea Cambricæ regionis satrapia natus, quam vocant Demetiam,' etc. (here *Demetia*, as pointed out in note 1 on p. 224, above, means 'South Wales'). Bale then identifies *Cayleg* with *Caylegium* (a horrid barbarism for *Cayrlegion*—see note 8 on p. 227, above), which he explains to mean Caerleon-on-Usk. Is it possible that Bale's gibberish *Cayleg* may have been twisted by some ardent Demetian patriot into *Cilgerran?* On John Kent and Kentchurch, see further in note (*t*) at the end of this book.

Kinge Hen: 7: Kinge of *England* borne in the Caſtle of *Penbrok:* who for his[1]

Fo. 97a, anc. 94a. †*Reynald Pecock*[2] a learned man borne in Laugharne, then being parte of *Penbrokſhere*, thoughe ſeethence wrongfully wreſted awaye[3] /

Sir Thomas Eliott Knight anciently deſcended of *Penbrokſhere* where his cheefe houſe name and familie is well knowen,[4] a man whoſe fame as alſoe his workes are ſufficiently knowne at this preſent and my ſelfe farre to meane to comende, this knight, beſide the good ſervice of his p*er*ſon in the comon welth while he lyved ymploied his laboures for his Countreys good after his deathe and left to the poſteritie very worthie workes as

A dictionarie in laten and Engliſhe.
The Caſtell of healthe 4 *bookes.*
The flowres of witte.
The gouernoure, a work both rare & excellent for the inſtruction of gentlemen

William Owen Eſquiore[5] borne at in *Penbrok-*

[1] The paragraph ends thus abruptly, a space being left in the MS. which the author never filled up. Fenton, in the *Cambrian Register* (ii, 208), adds after the word 'Penbroke': 'and therefore may properly be sayd to be a Penbrokeshire man.' The MS. in the Phillipps Library numbered 14,432 ends at 'Penbrock'.

[2] Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and Bishop of St. Asaph, and afterwards of Chichester. Of the latter bishopric he was deprived for heresy in 1457, and died in the following year.

[3] See notes 3 on p. 5, 4 on p. 206 (end of paragraph 1), and note 2 on p. 213, above.

[4] The Ellyotts of Earwere (Amroth Castle) and Narberth were related to the author. Sir Thomas Elyot, the author of *The Boke named the Gouernour*, died in 1546, was born before 1490 (he became Clerk of Assize on the Western Circuit, where his father was Judge, in 1511), it is supposed in Wiltshire, and resided at (Long) Combe, near Woodstock, Oxon ; his father, Sir Richard Elyot (whose family was closely associated with Coker, near Yeovil, in Somersetshire) held estates in Wiltshire. Bale seems to have had no authority for saying (1st ed., fo. 228b, 2nd ed., p. 668) that Sir T. Elyot was born in Suffolk. He died and was buried at Carlton (or Carleton), 5½ miles S. of Newmarket in Cambridgeshire. The *Boke named the Gouernour* was published in 1531 ; this edition was reproduced, with a Life of the author, copious notes, and a glossary, by Mr. H. H. S. Croft in 1880. See Leland's verses to Sir T. Elyot in *Collectanea*, v, 144. See too Holland's English ed. of Camden's *Britannia*, 1610, pp. 251, 254 (the passages are not in the preceding or 6th Latin ed. of the *Britannia*, 1607,—see pp. 182, 184), and Leland's *Collectanea*, iv, 141, note *a*, for Sir Thomas Elyot's and his father's connection with Wiltshire ; and Croft's inferences from these passages in his *Life of Elyot*, pp xxxiv-vi.

[5] The author's father. He was the son of Rhys ap Owen of Henllys, by

ſhere, as alſoe that Countreyman by ancient diſcent and progenye, was fellow ſtudient and neere Cozen to the laſt recited *Sr Thomas Eliott* and of familiar converſation together, he was alſoe chamber fellowe with the reverend Judge *Sr Anthony ffitzherbert*[1] *Knight*, and ſtudied the lawes together he wrote out the lardge volume of his chamberfellowes abridgment of the lawes of this Realme, beinge the firſt worke of abridginge the lawes that was done, wch travell in writtinge ſoe huge a volume, was noe leſſe tediouſe, to his bodie, then it was profitable to his ſtudie, whereby he imprinted in his mynde as much knowledge of the lawe, as by manye yeeres ſtudie he had gained (as I often harde himſelfe confeſſe) he profited by ſtudie of the lawe, but not greatlye by the practize thereof[2] wch he gave over longe ere his death he was the

Jane, daughter of Owen Ellyott of Earwere. In the release of the barony of Kemes to him from Sir John Tuckett, Knight, Lord Audeley, dated 21st August 1543, he is described as of 'Maesgwenith in the county of Monmouth'. The conclusion of this deed is worth noting :—'In testimony whereof I have set my seal to these presents, and because my seal is unknown to many, therefore for greater faith I have procured the seal of the Mayor and Commonalty of the Town of Pembroke to be affixed to these presents.'

[Maes Gwenith ('The Field of Wheat') in Gwent Is Coed, at the foot of the Mynydd Llwyd or Grey Hill in Wentwood, and about a mile N. of the church-town of Llanfair Discoed, is mentioned in a legend epitomised in the oldest Welsh Triads, where Henwen, the sow of Dallwyr or Dallweir Dallben, is said to have 'taken the water at Penrhyn Awstin in Cernyw' (now Aust Cliff in Gloucestershire), 'to have landed at Aber Tarogi' (now Caldicot Pill) 'in Gwent Is Coed', and to have 'deposited' (literally *laid*) 'a grain of wheat and a bee at Maes Gwenith in Gwent, whence Maes Gwenith in Gwent is the best place for wheat' (or 'for wheat and bees'); and 'thence to have gone to Llonyon in Penfro (Lanion, near Pembroke ; the MSS., or some of them, wrongly read *Louyon* and *Llonwen*), 'where she deposited a grain of barley and a grain of wheat (*gwenithen ;* al. *gwenenen*, 'a bee'), 'whence Llonyon is the best place for barley' (or 'the barley of Llonyon has passed into a proverb'—*diharhebir o heid Llonyon*—see p. 55, above). See No. 23 of the Triads of Hengwrt MSS. 54 and 536, printed in Skene's *Four Books*, ii, 458-461, where the passage above epitomised is egregiously mistranslated ; and No. 56 of the *Red Book Triads*, printed in *Y Cymmrodor*, iii, 60-1, vii, 131-2, Oxford *Mabinogion*, 307-8. The late Major A. E. Lawson Lowe, of Shirenewton Hall, not far from Maes Gwenith, informed the writer that in old deeds Maes Gwenith was sometimes also called *Maes Gwenyn*, or 'the Field of Bees'. The 1-inch Ordnance Map (Sheet 35) with its usual ingenuity has made the name into *Maes Gwenydd*.—E.P.]

[1] Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, a judge of the Common Pleas, was born in 1470, and died in 1538. He was called to the degree of Serjeant-at-Law on Nov. 18th, 1510, and his principal work, *La Graunde Abridgement*, was published in 1514.

[2] He must, however, have found it profitable in his nineteen years' suit against Lord Audley for the Barony of Kemes.

firſt (amonge other workes of his) that abridged the ſtatutes of *England*, and reduced them vnder comon titles, to the greate eaſe of the readers which he did in the tyme of king *hen: 8:* in ſoe ſmall a volume as the price thereof was but xij[d] whereof ſome are yett to be ſeene printed by *Richard Pinſon anno do*[*mi*]*ni 1528*,[1] vnder his name and title, he alſoe wrote other works, notwithſtanding his harde ſtudie in his youth, and contynuall toyle and travell all his tyme, he carryed to his grave ſoe manye yeeres, as that he ſawe, in Ripe yeeres the fifte yſſue male by diſcent of the bodie of his godfather, and was preſent at the coronac*i*on and p*ro*clamac*i*on of xiij Kings and Queenes of *England*, and lived vnder the xiiij[th] [whereof one Kinge and on Queene were never maryed],[2] he alſoe ſawe 8 buſhopps in *S*[*t*] *Dauides*,[3] and all his liffe

[1] Two editions of William Owen's *Abridgement*, with his name on the title-page, are extant, printed by Pynson in 1521 and 1528 respectively. The title of the 1528 edition (which the author mentions) is *Le Breggement de touz les estatutz, auxiben dez veillez comme dez nouellez, nouellement abrigez correctez et amendez par Guillame Owein de Medill' Temple et imprimez par Richarde Pynsone tanq; al xix an du tresuictorieux et soueraigne roy Henry le VIIJ defensour de la foy Anno Domini m.d.xxviii.* Williams, in his *Eminent Welshmen*, attributes to William Owen the edition of 1499. There is a copy of that edition in the British Museum, but the title-page is wanting.

[2] The sentence in brackets has been crossed out in the MS.

[3] If we take this to mean that eight bishops (and no more) held the see during William Owen's lifetime (which is the natural sense of the words used), these eight bishops must have been : (1) Robert Sherbourn (consecrated on the 11th of May, 1505) ; (2) Edward Vaughan (cons. July 22, 1509) ; (3) Richard Rawlins (cons. 1523) ; (4) William Barlow (cons. 1536) ; (5) Robert Ferrar (cons. 1548); (6) Henry Morgan (cons. 1554) ; (7) Thomas Young (cons. 1559) and (8) Richard Davies (cons. 1561, d. 1581). This would imply that William Owen was born between the death of Bishop Sherbourn's predecessor, John Morgan, *alias* Young (cons. 1496), who died Bishop of St. David's in April—May 1504 (his will, dated 25th April in that year, was proved on the following May 24th), and Bishop Sherbourn's translation to Chichester on Sept. 18th, 1508 (otherwise he could not have 'seen' *only* eight bishops at St. David's *and* died in 1574, as is here stated by his son) ; but independently of the assertion by the author, cited in the next note, that he was reputed to have lived to the age of 105, he could not possibly, if born in 1504-8, have brought out a legal work (see note 1 on this page) in 1521, nor could he well have been 'chamber-fellow' with Sir A. Fitzherbert, who (see note 1 on last page) was born in 1470. If William Owen was really born *circ.* 1469, he would have been contemporaneous with four bishops of St. David's besides the nine mentioned above, viz., with Robert Tully (cons. 1460, d. 1481), Richard Martyn (cons. 1482), Thomas Langton (cons. 1483), and Hugh Pavy, or Parry (cons. 1485). No conclusion can well be drawn from what is said about the thirteen kings and queens : for William Owen is not said to have 'seen' them on the throne, but merely to have been present at their coronation and proclamation.

tyme was never ſicke, but once, and at his dyeinge daie, (w^ch^ was *29 Martij 1574*[1]) wanted not on toothe/

†*Robert Record*[2] doctor of phiſicke a *Tenby* man borne in his tyme was a man as much renowned for his learneinge, as he is after honored for his workes, w^ch^ for Coſmographie, Arithmetike & Geometrye are the Rudiments beſt eſteemed above anye others, before or ſeethence his tyme, much is our Engliſhe nation beholdinge to the author neyther can his praiſe be ſufficientlye blaſed[3] for the good he left behinde him, he compiled Fo. 97b, anc. 94b.

The grounde of Artes
The whetſtone of witt
The pathe waye
The Castle of knowledg
The vrinall of phiſick.

he died in the raigne of Queene Mary

Thomas Phaer[4] doctor of phiſicke a man honored for his learne-

[1] From a note at Bronwydd, in the author's writing (printed in *Arch. Camb.* for 1867, 3rd Series, vol. xiii, p. 132), it appears that William Owen was buried at Nevern on the day after his death. He had made over Newport Castle and the baronial rights to his son in 1571. A William Owen was appointed in 1498 by Sir Walter Herbert, Knight, to hold the courts of the barony of Kemes; and it seems just possible that this was the author's father, judging from the following passage, which is intercalated in the *Cambrian Register*, ii, 58, after the author's remarks in Chapter I on the long life of Pembrokeshire people, immediately after the word 'memorye' at the end of paragraph 2 of p. 6, above:—

'For experience whereof my dearest anceſtor at his death was accounted to have lyved 105 yeares, and was at his latter dayes luſtie of body and always in health, well able to travell and dayly uſed to walke a good ſwift paſe 4, 5, or 6 myles a morning for his pleaſure; and leſſe then ſix yeares before his death, he, taking his journey from the towne of Penbroke towards his houſe in the country, began his journey a foote, willing his man to bring his horſe after him, for that his horſe was not then taken (and indeede was not that daye), he having began his journey a foote was forced ſoe to ende the ſame and come to his houſe by one of the clocke, being 20 myles: he carried all his teethe with him to the grave, and a fewe years before his death woulde eate a handfull of nuttes, ſhells and all: he was the yongest of his anceſtours that died the two last deſcents before him. My mother alſoe, yet living (God grant it long), and two other gentlewomen of the ſame pariſh, all three in perfect memory, can reckon between them at leaſt 260 yeares, ſoe helthful is the ayre and ſoyle.'

[2] He was a Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, and died in the King's Bench Prison in 1558. See Laws' *Little England*, p. 308.

[3] Proclaimed; see St. Mark, i, 45.

[4] He was solicitor to the Court of the Marches and constable of Kilgerran, where he died in 1560. He published a metrical translation of the first seven books of the *Æneid* in 1558. His step-son Thomas Revell, also of Forest, or Fforest Cilgerran, is mentioned on pp. 158, 163, above.

inge, comended for his governement,[1] and beloved for his pleaſant naturall conceptes, he choſe *Penbrokſhere* for his earthlye place, where he lyved worſhipfully, and ended his daies to the grieffe of all good men, at the fforeſt of Kilgurran beinge his choſen ſeate, he tranſlated the *Eneidos of Virgill* a worke of non worthelye comended, though comended of moſt, ſheweinge the author his greate ſkill learneinge and aptnes of nature /

Harrye Morgan[2] Doctor of lawe for his learneinge p*re*ferred to be Buſhopp of S[t] Dauides in Queenes *Maryes* tyme was borne in *Dewiſland*. as worthie in place,[3] as he was gen*er*ouſlye deſcended

Thomas Younge[4] Doctor of Divinitie ſucceeded the ſaied Buſhoppe *Morgan* in *S[t] Dauides* and there hence advanced to the ſee of *York*. he was borne in *Hogeston* neere *Lanphey*.

Richard Dauides[5] Buſhopp of *S[t] Dauides* a man noe leſſe in his tyme much reverenced for his rare vertues and excellencie in learneinge agreeable to his place and callinge, then honored for his publique hoſpitallitie and liberallitie in his liffe tyme thoughe
Fo. 98a, anc. 95a. ſuſtaineinge manye trobles and greate croſſes, yett †ſoe beareinge himſelf as he was inwardely affected of the good & never detracted but of the Bad, he for the advauncement of gods glorie tranſlated into welſhe

The newe Teſtament
The comon praier book
Manye notable ſermons[6]

He dyed vij° Novembris 1581. /

[1] Self-controul. Compare Shakespeare, *Henry IV*, Part I, iii, 1.

[2] Principal of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, and a learned civilian and canonist. He was Bishop from 1554 until the accession of Elizabeth, in 1559, when he was deprived of his bishopric, and retired to Wolvercote, near Oxford, where he died in December of the same year, and where he is buried.

[3] Office.

[4] Principal of Broadgate's Hall, now Pembroke College, Oxford. He only held St. David's for one year, and died in 1560.

[5] Richard Davies, as he is generally called, was a Carnarvonshire man, having been born in 1501, at Plas y Person, Gyffin (near Conway), of which place his father was curate. He was translated from St. Asaph to St. David's in 1561, and held the see until his death. He was buried at Abergwili, where his grave was discovered in the course of rebuilding the church in 1850. He vigorously planted the diocese of St. David's with his North-Welsh relations and friends, and his provisions for his own family are said to have greatly impoverished the bishopric. (See Sir John Wynn's *Memoirs*, appended to his *History of the Gwydir Family*, Oswestry ed., 1878, pp. 93-4.)

[6] He translated some of the Epistles for the first Welsh New Testament,

Thomas Huett, Chauntor of *S^t Dauides* a man that all his liffe bare himſelfe all waies in good accompte and eſtimac*i*on, tooke alſoe much paines with the ſaied Buſhopp *Dauides* in tranſlateinge the former bookes as may appeare by the Epiſtles of them,[1] he dyed xix° *die Auguſti an(n)o d(omi)ni 1591*

brought out (and mostly translated) by William Salesbury, at London, in 1567 (and reprinted at Carnarvon in 1850): viz., 1 Timothy, Hebrews, James, and 1 and 2 Peter (see the statements in the margin of fos. 310ª and 327ª, where the initials 'D. R. D. M.' stand for 'Dr. Richard Davies, Menevensis'). That the Bishop did not translate 2 Timothy, as is stated by Rowlands in his *Llyfryddiaeth y Cymry*, or 'Cambrian Bibliography', p. 16, is clear from the marginal note on fo. 317ª of the Testament, which says that 'W. S.' (William Salesbury) translated that Epistle. (See Canon Silvan Evans' last footnote on p. 16 of the *Llyfryddiaeth*). Bishop Davies also translated (more or less assisted by Salesbury) the Welsh Prayer Book which appeared with the Testament in 1567, and was the author of the long 'Letter to the Welsh' (in Welsh) prefixed to the Testament, and also apparently issued in a separate form at the time, which was reprinted in the 2nd ed. of Edwards' *Ffydd Diffuant* in 1671, and again, by itself, in 1774 and 1778. Davies and Salesbury were also engaged for two years in translating 'Homilies, Books, and divers other tracts in(to) the British tongue', and also were 'very far onward with (the translation of) the Old Testament' into Welsh, when (about 1576) a 'variance for the general sense and etymology of one word' caused a rupture between them, and put an end to these joint undertakings. (See *Hist. of the Gwydir Family*, 1878, pp. 93-4.) Bishop Davies was a good Hebrew scholar, and revised against the original Hebrew the books of Joshua, Ruth, and 1 and 2 Samuel for 'Parker's' English Bible, published in 1568. In 1577 he published the funeral sermon on Walter, Earl of Essex, which he had preached at Carmarthen on November 26, 1576. This is a very scarce and curious book, containing, besides the sermon, commemorative verses in various tongues (including some Welsh *Englynion*), and some (for the time) remarkably executed genealogical plates. The Bishop is also said to have been skilful in Welsh poetry (from a marginal note on his 'Letter to the Welsh', *b*, i, it seems that he was nephew to the well-known poet Gruffudd ap Ieuan ap Llywelyn Fychan, of Llanerch in Denbighshire, who was one of the directors of the Caerwys Eisteddfod in 1513), and to have composed some pieces still extant; but no other of his 'many notable sermons' appears to have been published.

[1] Huet was Precentor of St. David's from 1562 to 1588. He held the livings of Cefnllys, on the Ithon (in Welsh *Ieithon*), close to Llandrindod, and Disserth lower down the same river, and nearer Builth. He lived at Aber Dihonw, on the Breconshire bank of the Wye about a mile below Builth, where, till the beginning of this century, bedposts bearing his initials were to be seen. He was buried in the church of Llanafan Fawr, in Breconshire, 6 miles N.-W. of Builth, and built the house of Ty Mawr (in Llysdinam) in that parish, which descended through the daughter of his brother Rees Huet to the Gwynnes of Garth and Glan Brân (see Jones' *Brecknockshire*, ii, 241-2, 245). He translated the Book of Revelation in William Salesbury's Welsh New Testament (for which see the last footnote). He there signs himself 'T. H. C M.', *i.e.*,

Robert Loughor Doctor of Lawes borne in *Tenby* was for his learneinge of greate eſtimac*i*on and held the Chayre[1] in *Oxford* for manye yeeres beſide other cheefe places in the vniu*er*ſitie, till worthielye he was advaunced to be Chauncelour of *York*, holdinge w^ch^ place he dyed the *3 of June 1585* at *Tenby* where he was borne

Thomas Huet, Cantor Menevensis. See Rowlands' *Llyfryddiaeth y Cymry*, or 'Cambrian Bibliography' (1869), pp. 16, 21; it is there wrongly stated that Cefnllys is in Breconshire, and Aber Dihonw is mis-spelt Aber *Dihoew*. Mr. Rowlands was a North-Welshman.

The word 'Epistles' is here evidently used by our author in the obsolete sense of a preface or letter of dedication; but Huet's name does not occur in either Davies' or Salesbury's prefatory epistles, nor indeed (apparently) anywhere in the work except in the margin of fo. 373a (1850 ed., p. 466), where he is merely said to have translated the Book of Revelation.

[1] Of Civil Law. He was Principal of New Inn Hall in that University.

Of *diverſe wonders of* Penbrokſhere. Fo. 98b, anc. 95b.

Cap: 26/:

In ſpeakinge of wonders, leſt the reader ſhould wonder to much I thinke it fitte firſt to diſcribe theſe thinges w^ch^ I will here call wonders, and therefore I will here call wonders thoſe thinges that for the rarnes[1] thereof will drawe people to marvell thereat and yett noe vnnaturall cauſe or matter to be founde, for if it ſwarve from nature it is more properlie (if it come by the handie worke of god) a myracle, if by the operac*i*on of nature then more aptlye called a monſter, then a wonder, for manye naturall thinges for the rarenes thereof will drawe people to wonder at it, of theſe, ſuch fewe as I haue noted to be founde in *Pembrokſhere* I will breifely note w^ch^ I compriſe vnder the nomber of Nyne./

The ſhakinge ſtone neere St. Dauides.

The firſt whereof ſhalbe the ſhakeinge ſtone[2] neere within half a mile of *S^t^ Dauides*, towardes the ſea cliffe, where there is to be ſeene, a huge ſtone, ſo maſſie as by eſtimac*i*on paſſeth the draught of a hundred oxen, w^ch^ ſtone is in forme Cornered diu*er*ſelye, and ſomewhat rounde and broade, beinge a ſtone as harde as marble vnpoliſhed or hewed by anye arte, or laboure, this ſtone is mounted vpon diu*er*ſe other ſtones about a yarde highe from the grounde, and ſoe equallye peyſed[3] as that with on finger a man

[1] Rareness.

[2] Herman Moll, *A New Description of Wales* (1724), p. 262, says (following Edward Lhuyd's 'Additions to Penbrokshire' in Gibson's *Camden*, 1st ed., 1695, col. 638; 2nd ed., 1722, col. 761-2) that *y maen silg* (*sigl*), or the rocking stone, near St. David's (it was at the foot of *Carn Llidi*), was thrown off its balance by the Parliamentary soldiers during the civil war. The same writer speaks of the 'Llafan or black butter' made from sea-weed gathered near St. David's (see Gibson's *Camden*, 1695, col. 641). See also the tract by the author in Browne Willis's *Survey of St. David's*, pp. 63-4, where he quotes the same Latin couplet about the rocking-stone. Lhuyd (col. 638) quotes what purports to be our author's account of the *maen sigl*, taken from the present work, but his quotation is a mere paraphrase of the passage in our text. See note 5 on p. 248, below, where it will be seen that another passage of this chapter has been similarly treated by Lhuyd or his informant John Lewis.

[3] *Poised*, balanced; in Middle-English we have both *poisen* and *peisen*, and in Old-French both *peiser* and *poiser* (now *peser*), 'to weigh,' and *peis* and *pois*, 'a weight'. These French words are from the Latin *pensum* (whence the Welsh *pwys*) and *pensare*, and the *d* of the modern *poids* is due to the erroneous supposition that it is derived from the synonymous Latin *pondus*.

maye ſoe ſhake it, as that you maye ſenſiblye ſee it move, and if ij or iij men or more ſitt or ſtand on yt, yett maye you ſoe move it that the men on it maye ſenſiblye ſee and feele themſelves moved thereby, this is reconned for a ſtrange and rare thinge and is viſited of manye that have cauſe to reſort to *S^t^ Dauides;* yt is reported of this ſtone that you may move it with on finger, and if yow put the whole ſtrength of yo*ur* bodie it will not ſturre, the cauſe thereof is for that the motion of the ſtone, is but verye litle, and therefore is not ſoe well to be p*er*ceaved if yow put both yo*ur* handes or you^r^ ſhoulder to move it, as when you put but one hand or one or two fingers, A learned and worthie man ſeeinge this qualitie of the wonder diſcribeth it thus,

Concutit hunc lenis motus, quem non movet vllus:
Cunque minus moueas tunc movet, ecce, magis

It is a thinge ſtrange to ſee howe equiponderouſe this ſtone is
Fo. 99a, anc. 96a. placed †vpon two ſtones vnder proppinge it, that ſoe ſmall ſtrength ſhould be able to move ſoe maſſye a bodie, and yt is the more rare, for that it ſhould ſeeme that the placeinge was not done by arte of man, but by naturall meanes or chaunce as we call it,

The like ſtone have I founde my ſelfe in the havon of *Caldey Ilande* by chaunce, goeinge over ſtones there, vnder the full ſea marke, & overflowen euerye tyde, but much leſſe in quantitie, then this of *S^t^ Dauides* /

flowing well. 2. The ſecond matter that I finde worth the noteinge ys a well[1] ſpringe on the topp of a highe rocke[2] neere *S^t^ Dauides* aforeſaied

[1] Another flowing well was Nun's Well, dedicated to St. Non the mother of St. David, and adjoining her chapel (destroyed since the author's time), a little S. of St. David's. It had miraculous powers, especially on the Saint's day (March 2nd), when pins and pebbles were offered to it by 'old simple people', says the author *apud* Browne Willis (as above), pp. 52-3. Fenton, *Pembrokeshire*, p. 112, says he was often dipped in it when an infant. St. Non's chapel seems to be referred to in the passage of a letter from Mr. Nicholas Roberts of Llanddewi Velfrey to Edward Lhuyd, printed in Gibson's *Camden*, 1695, col. 641, where he says that the seaweed out of which the '*Lhavan* or *Lhawvan*, in English *Black Butter*', is made, was gathered 'near St. David's, especially at *Eglwys Abernon*'. *Aber Non* would mean 'Non's Creek'.

[2] *Clegyr Fwya;* see what the author says in Browne Willis's *St. David's*, p. 64. This name does not mean 'the biggest rock', as the annotator there says, but 'Boia's Rock', *oi* becoming *wy* in the Demetian dialect, as *Moel* becomes *Mwel.* Boia (whose name is also spelt *Boya*, *Baia*, and *Beias*) was the Irish (or Pictish, *Lib. Land.*, 94-5) chieftain who gave the *Vallis Rosina* to St. David, but afterwards (with his wife) caused the saint much annoyance, and would have slain him but that he was first slain himself by his enemy

halffe a mile and more from the ſea, the water beinge freſh and ſweete, and keepeth courſe with the ſea, in ebbinge and flowinge twiſe eu*er*ye xxiiij houres and be full at full ſea and verye lowe at the ebbe,[1] The litle children that hearde cattle neere the place, are ſoe acquainted with this well that they reſorte up to the well of purpoſe to knowe howe the tyde goeth and will declare the ſtate of the ebbe and fludd preſentlye by Inſpection of the well /

3. There is not farre from the ſhakeing ſtone at a place called *Porthmawr*[2] out of a chamber a paſſage vnder grounde[3] a quarter of a mile leadinge to the ſea, I haue not my ſelfe ſeene this paſſage & therefore I cannot ſoe lardgly treate of it as I wiſhe, but it is a thing worthie of place amonge thinges rare and ſtrange, as I am enformed by them, that are acquainted with the place, *A caue or paſſage vnder ground*

4. An other matter I will note here as a ſtrange and rare thinge that is ſhells of fiſhes, as Oyſter ſhells, muſkell ſhells, Cockells Lympittes and other ſhells of ſea fiſhe founde in

Lisci the son of Paucairt' (*sic* MS.), after whom the neighbouring Porth Llisci is called (see *Cambro-British Saints*, 106-7, 124-6). There is a fort on Clegyr Fwya, and no doubt it is the *arx* on the walls of which Boia is made to sit and fast in *op. cit.*, p. 124 ; for in the Welsh version the *arcis mœnia* are replaced by *creic uchel* or 'a lofty rock'. The fort of *Parc y Castell* was also traditionally connected with Boia ; for Leland refers to it thus (*Itin.*, v, 28[b]) : 'The[re] remayne tokins of *Cairboias Castel* standing by Alen ryueret about a quarter of a myle lower then S. Dauid on the same ryueret.' Here he evidently translates the Welsh *Castell Caer Boia.* Clegyr Fwya is not on the banks of the Alun.

[1] Another Welsh well famous for its ebbing and flowing is *Ffynnon Leinw*, n the parish of Cilcen, in Flintshire. This is the well alluded to by Gerald in his *Works*, vi, 137, as 'fons non procul a Rudhelan in provincia de Tegengel', etc., and by Camden, *Britannia*, 1st ed. (1586), p. 394. Pennant says, however, that the phenomenon had ceased in his time (*Tours*, Rhys' ed., ii, 59). The word *Lleinw* must have some connection with *llanw*, 'the flow of the tide', of which it may possibly be an irregular plural (like *teirw*, *ceirw*, *meirw*, *geirw*, from *tarw*, *carw*, *marw*, *garw*), suggests Professor Rhys. In Murray's *North Wales*, ed. 1885, p. 77, the name is misprinted *Leinir*.

[2] Porth Mawr is mentioned in the *Cognatio de Brychan* (*Cambro-British Saints*, p. 272), where Marchell, the daughter of Tewdrig and mother of Brychan Brycheiniog, on her journey from Llanfaes, near Brecon, to Ireland with 300 men, spends the first night at Llansefin (at or near Llangadock ; *Lan Semin*, MS.), and the second at Mydrim (*Methrum*, MS.), at each of which places she loses 100 men of her following through the extreme cold ; and finally, on the third night, 'descendit in *Port Maur*, in loco scilicet apriciori', whence she proceeds to Ireland with 100 men, the remnant of her suite. This passage seems to point to Porth Mawr as an early port of embarkation from Wales to Ireland.

[3] Compare what the author says *apud* Browne Willis (as above), p. 64. Manby, writing in 1801, *History and Antiquities of St. David's*, p. 73, says that all his searches for this underground passage were ineffectual.

digginge of marle, and this vpon highe hills, where the marle is founde, iij or iiij^{or} myles from the ſea; and this xx foote deepe vnder the earthe, ſoe that of neceſſitie theſe ſhells muſt haue remained there ſeethence the fludd of *Nohe*[1]; being nowe 3909

[1] Noe or Noe Hên was the Welsh for Noah. There seems, according to Murray's *South Wales*, ed. 1877, p. 188, to be a genuine, though it cannot be an old, local tradition that the Ark rested at a place called *Blaengwaithnoe*, situate close to Castell Meherin (for which see p. 108, above) in Lampeter Velfrey parish (Lewis, *Top. Dict. of Wales*, in his account of that parish, calls it *Blaengwyddnoe*). Hence it is clear that this name was taken by folk-etymology to stand for *Blaen Gwaith Noe*, 'the top of Noah's work'; which idea further led to the alteration of the *-noe* of the name into *-noeh* or *-noah*, misprinted by Murray *-noch* (*loc. cit.*) and *-nock* (in the index). The place-name, however, occurs as (terra de) *Blanwytheno* in the charter of King John to Whitland Abbey (Dugdale's *Monasticon*, 1825, v, 591), and *Grangia de Blaynegwathnoy* in *Valor Eccl.*, iv, 407; and thus it probably stands for *Blaen Gwyddno* (or *Gweiddno*) 'the source of the Gwyddno'; for the place stands near the source of a stream which joins the Marlas, a tributary of the Tâf, at White Mill. *Gweiddno* or *Gweithno* is a variant of the well-known Welsh name *Gwyddno*, and may be found spelt *Gweidno* in *Y Cymmrodor*, viii, 89 (No. XLI), and mis-spelt *Gueinoth* for *Gueithno*, *ib.*, ix, 178 (see note 4 on that page, and especially the addition thereto in vol. x, p. 248); compare the forms *Witfoit*, *Withfoit*, used by Gerald (*Works*, vi, 121), for the more usual *Gweithfoet*, now *Gwaithfoed*.

In Cornwall we have the name in the parish of Perran *Uthno*, otherwise Little Perran, near Marazion (Hundred of Penwith), so called to distinguish it from two other parishes also called (from St. Perran, *i.e.*, the Irish *Ciaran*) Perran Arworthal and Perran-Zabuloe (= *in sabulo*, 'in the sand'; the true Cornish name was Perran *Treth*, with which the Merionethshire Llanfihangel *y Traethau* may be compared). This Perran *Uthnoe* is said to be called *Lanuthnoe* in Bronescombe's Register at Exeter, fo. 41 (see Oliver's *Monasticon Dioc. Exon.*, p. 442); it is called *Udnou Parva* in the *Tax. Eccl.* (see the corrected ed. for the Diocese of Exeter in Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 462^{a}; and the ordinary printed ed., p. 148^{a}), where we also find a *Lanudno* (Oliver, p. 461^{b}, corrupted in the ordinary ed. into *Lanlindnor*, al. *Lanhudnon*); this church, now extinct, is represented (Gilbert's *Cornwall*, iii, 311) by the manor of *Lan Uthno*, in the parish of St. Erth. In Brittany the name *Gwyddno* occurs under the form *Goueznou*, the name of a well-known saint, who is called *Woednovius* in the *Life of St. Pol de Léon* (see *Revue Celtique*, v, 437). The *doublet*, *Gwydneu* (=*Gwyddneu*), is also found in the *Mabinogion* (Oxford ed., 111, 8; 122, 4), and, spelt *Guitnev*, in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, fos. 49b, 53^{b} (Skene's *Four Books*, ii, 54, 59); here the *-eu* is from an Old-Welsh *-ou*. The forms given above, ending in *-noe*, *-noy*, seem to retain the Old-Welsh sound.

Some have held the idea that Blaen Gwaithnoe derives its name from Noe or Nowy ap Arthur (see *Arch. Camb.*, 4th Series, v, 88), king of Dyfed in the 7th century, for whom see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 171, 175 (note 5), *Lib. Land.*, 73-4; on this assumption *Gwaith Noe* would here mean 'Noe's Fort' or the like, as *Gueith Tineuur* in *Lib. Land.*, 75, means 'The Fort of Dynevor'. The passage referred to (*op. cit.*, 73-5) makes Noe ap Arthur grant Llandeilo Fawr, Llanddowror, and Penally, to St. Dubricius (cf. p. 126), but is therein guilty of a gross

yeares ſeethence, Theſe ſhells are verye comonlye founde in the marle pittes, verye deepe vnder the earth and are freſhe of collour, but moſt of them putrified and rotten, but ſome haue I ſeene ſound and ſtronge w^th^out anye kinde of putrefaction, There is alſoe founde in the ſaid marle pytte, all maner of ſtones, of the ſea ſhore, worne rounde and ſmoothe †by the ſea, and all ſortes of ſea ſandes, as alſoe peeces of Tymber vnrotten with the apparant ſignes of cuttinge with edge tooles, and fire brandes with black Coles on the on ende, all w^ch^ confirmeth the opynion of the comon people that the marle is the fattnes and clamy ſubſtance of the earth, by the beateinge and waſhing of the fludd, and ſoe gethered[1] together includinge within it, whatſoever toched that clamye ſubſtance, and ſoe left in greate lumpes at the departeinge of the fludd, This kinde of marle is founde onlye in the vper parte of *Kemes*, and in the hundred of *Kilgarran* of all this ſheere

ſhells ſounde in the marle pitts.

Fo. 99b, anc. 96b.

5. Another rare and ſtrange thinge is to be remembred of certaine rootes of tymber w^ch^ about xij or xiij yeeres paſt were ſeene on the ſandes at *Newgall*[2] by reaſon as it ſeemeth the

anachronism, for that king was (1) great-great-grandson of the Vortipore, king of Dyfed, addressed by Gildas in his *Epistola* (written between *circ.* 530 and 547), and (2) the father-in-law of Elisse, king of Powys, whose great-grandson Cyngen died in 854 (see *Y C.*, *locc. citt.*, and also pp. 165, 181). Bishop Davies, in his *Epistol* to Salesbury's Welsh New Testament (for which see pp. 241-2, above), says (*b*, iv, = 1850 ed., p. xii): 'And I could (*vedwn*, a mistake for *vedrwn*) shew you in a fragment (*carp*) of a very old (*hen ddyhenydd*) charter which belongs to my see of St. David's here, that one *Noe* was king of Dyfed.'—E. P.

[1] Another form of *gathered*, preserved in 'to-*gether*'.

[2] Newgale is called *Neugol* and *Niwegal* by Gerald (*Works*, vi, 86, 100). There is a somewhat similar (? Norse) name in N. Wales. The wide bay between Rhiw and Trwyn Cilan, on the S. coast of the peninsula of Lleyn, Carnarvonshire, is called in Welsh *Porth Neigwl* (an English mariners' name for it is 'Hell's Mouth'). The place that gave name to this bay is called in the *Record of Carnarvon*, *Newgolf*, *Newgolff*, or *Neugolf* (pp. 36-8), *Nevgwlf* and *Newgolff* (p. 257), *Nevgwl* (p. 252, end), *Neugwl* (p. 200), and *Neugyll* (p. 229); the name survives in three farms called *Neigwl* in the parish of Llandegwning. An idea prevails in Carnarvonshire that this name *Neigwl* is derived from a Norman adventurer of the name of Nigel, who settled in the place; hence it is that *Neigwl* is spelt *Nigel* in the Ordnance 1-inch Map (Sheet 75), but it is never pronounced so. There is a hamlet of *Golf*-tyn (*-tyn* is the regular Welsh modification of the English termination *-ton* in the districts of N.E. Wales reconquered by Wales from England) in the parish of Northop, Flintshire; this, however, is said to be the place called in *Domesday Book* (see the Extension and Translation of *D. B.* for Cheshire and Lancashire, p. 67) *Ulfemiltone*, and in a charter of 1283 *Wolfynton*.

Fenton (*Pemb.*, p. 142) says that 'in all old deeds' Newgall (as he spells ti) is called *New Vill*—he means presumably *Nova Villa*.

violence of the ſea or ſome extreeme, freſhe[1] in the winter. waſhed awaye the ſandes, (w^ch^ dayelye is and was overflowen with the tyde), ſoe lowe that there appeared in the ſandes infinitte nomber of buttes of trees in the places, where they had bcn growinge, and nowe eu*er*ye tyde overflowen: there appeared the verye ſtrookes of the hatched at the fallinge of theſe tymber, the ſandes beinge waſhed in the winter, the buttes remained to be ſeene all the ſommer followinge, but the next yeere the ſame was covered againe with the ſandes, by this it appeareth that the ſea in that place hath intruded vpon the lande and neere the place in *Rowſe* ſide, there is a Townred called as yett *the woode*[2] allthough there be not anye other ſigne of woode vpon the lande thereof, this thinge *Giraldus Cambrenſis*[3] whoe wrote his diſcripc*i*on of *Wales* in the tyme of kinge *H: 2:* noteth that in his tyme theſe buttes of tymber were alſoe ſeene, and layeth it as a ſtrange memoriall to the poſteritie, yt hath ben told me by the neighbores o̅f *Coedtraeth*[4] neere Tenbye that the like hath ben ſeene there vpon the ſandes[5] /

Buttes of Trees in the Sandes neere Newgall.

[1] Flood ; cf. the American *freshet.* The word *fresh* is used for a flood in Ireland ; see Lever's *Knight of Gwynne*, chap. 19.

[2] See note (*u*) at the end of this book.

[3] Rolls ed., vi, 100.

[4] Cf. p. 86, note 2, above. See note 2 on p. 45, and note 1 on p. 49, above, as to the form 'Coed *Traeth*'. It is true that hard by there is an extensive *traeth* (*traeth* means any tract of sand dry at low, but covered at high water), comprising the Pendine Sands, but if we consider the variants *Coed yr Hâf* (p. 46, above), Coed *Raht* (Leland's *Itin.*, v, 17), Coet *Raff* (Oxford *Bruts*, p. 411), and Coet *Raath* (*Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 130), and the fact that Speed and Saxton in their maps spell the name *Coidrath*, there does not seem much doubt that the true Welsh form is *Coed Rhath*, and that the name is derived from the *Rhath* brook, which bordered on or penetrated the forest in question, and has left its name to *Amroth* (anciently *Amrath* = 'About (or around) the Rhath' ; see note 2 on p. 45, above). If this supposition is correct, the form *Coed Traeth* is a mistake for *Coet Rhaeth*, and the *ae* is to be explained thus : In S. Wales the *oe* and *ae* of literary, northern, and mediæval Welsh are reduced to *ô* and *â* ; hence the latter letters, wherever occurring in South Welsh place-names, were apt to be supposed corruptions of an older *oe*, *ae*. This principle has undoubtedly produced such forms as *ffoes* for *ffôs*, a 'ditch', which we may find, *e.g.*, in Fenton's *Pembrokeshire* (p. 131, where it is spelt *Foes*), Jones' *Brecknockshire*, ii, 216, or John Fenton's letter in *Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, vi, 61, and which still survives, we believe, in local and parochial orthography. Hence *Coet Rhâth* would readily have been taken to stand for *Coed Trâth* or *Coed Traeth*. The Welsh name of the parish of *Roath*, now a suburb of Cardiff, was *Y Rhath*, alias *Y Rhaff* (*Myv. Arch.*, ii, 624) ; it is spelt *Raht* in a 12th-century charter, and in other old documents *Raz*, *Raath*, and *Rothe* (see the notes to Rice Merrick's *Booke of Glamorganshires Antiquities*, ed. 1887, p. 150).—E. P.

[5] As with the passage about the *maen sigl* (see note 2 on p. 243, above) the

6. There is alſoe a pitte in the earthe in *Bosherston* pariſhe w^ch^ is called *Boſhersmere*[1] whereof there is ſtrange thinges reported, as that at certaine tymes there is vgglye and terrible noyſes & ſoundes hard to proceede from the ſame pitte, and that a fume or ſmoake to mens apparaunce often tymes is ſeene riſeinge and mounteinge †out of the ſame pitte as out of a burneinge ffurnes, and alſoe greate flakes of boylinge frothe caſt vpp out of the hole, and w^ch^ is more ſtrange if ſheepe or other like Cattell be graſeinge neere the pitte, oftentymes they are forciblye and violentlye drawen and carryed into the ſame pitte, and if a cloake or anye other garment be caſt on the grounde neere the pitte, at certaine ſeaſons, yow ſhall ſtande afarre of, and ſee the ſame ſuddenlye ſnatched drawne and ſwalowed vpp into the pitte, and never ſeene againe, all w^ch^ I here to be true by credible reporte of the neighbores, and of purpoſe I went to ſee the place, and I doe verilye beleave the reportes, and therefore I maye well place it here as a ſtrange and rare matter: the cauſe is, as I gueſſe, for that the pitte is rounde and narrowe above, and is within ij or iij Butts length to the ſea cliffe, the lande beinge all Limeſtone rocke, ſoe bare and baren, that ſcarce anye graſſe groweth on the grounde, althoughe it be plaine; lookeinge downe into the hole I finde it verye deepe and broade downewarde, and from the bottome

Bosherſmeare.

Fo. 100a, anc. 97a.

substance of the whole of this paragraph is (and occasionally its exact words are) given by Edward Lhuyd in Gibson's *Camden*, ed. 1695, col. 635, as a *quotation* from the 'Manuscript History of this County' (Pembrokeshire) by 'Mr. George Owen'. In the following column we are told (with reference to the account of the Pentre Evan cromlech at pp. 250-2, below) that 'Mr. George Owen's Manuscript History above mention'd was communicated to me by the worshipful John Lewis of Manour Nowen, Esq.' (who makes the same statement himself; see *Cambrian Register*, ii, 211). Lhuyd adds (col. 635-6), on the authority of 'an ingenious and inquisitive gentleman of this country', that 'of late years' there had been similarly uncovered on the coast near Capel Stinan (in the parish of St. David; see p. 132, note 1, above) 'not only the roots or stocks of trees, but also divers pieces of squar'd timber'.

The tradition that St. Bride's Bay was formed by an irruption of the sea is very old. See note 2 on p. 111, above. Fenton says (*Pemb.*, p. 143), that he had heard from an eye-witness that vestiges of 'pitched pavement' had been seen far out from the shore, near Newgale, at an extraordinary low tide. Gerald in his *Itin.* (*Works*, vi, 100), says that the buried forest under Newgale Sands was uncovered by a great storm in the winter of 1171-2; most of his description there is taken from his *Expugnatio Hiberniæ* (*Works*, v, 284) where he does not specify the locality beyond saying that it was in S. Wales. He mentions the marks of the axe on the cut stumps of the trees in these words:—'ictusque securium (in stipitibus) tanquam hesterni'.

[1] Bosher's pool.

there is a greate brech to the ſea, ſoe that it ſhould ſeeme all the grounde betweene it and the ſea, to be hollowe vnderneath, and when the ſea is tempeſtiouſe the ſurges enter the concavitie with greate furye and the place being hollowe, yeldeth ſtrange and loathſome noyſes, as neere all cliffes are harde, the ſounde whereof aſcendeth throw the hallownes[1] of the earth, and is hard neere the hole mouth in ſtrange ſorte, and when the waves are forciblye dryven into that ſtraitnes, the breches[2] are forced to ſhewe it ſelfe vpp throwe the hole, as they doe in breakeinge against the Cliffe, w^ch^ ſheweth a farre off as ſmoake riſeinge out of a chymney and caſteth vppe peeces of white ſome that ſwymeth on the water, and this is the ſmoake that the people reporteth to ſee, and the ſkyminges[3] of potts, and when the cave is violentlye filled with the ſea ſurges, ſoe that noe ayre is left in the concavitie of the earthe, the ſea retorninge ſuddainlye, the ayre beinge ſuddenly alſoe drawen downe throw the narrowe hole, is ſoe attractyve as if anye ſheepe or what thinge ſoever be founde neere the brinke of the pitte, the ſame is violentlye by the ayre drawne into the gulffe & this is the reaſon of this wonder[4] /

7. Another rare thinge there is and ſtrange indeede if it be true, as I am p*er*ſwaded it is for that the place is within a Liꝑꝑe[5] of myne, and within ij myles of my dwellinge and all the Inhabitantes both younge and old doeth affirme and confirme the ſame, w^ch^ is, that in the pariſhe of *Whitchurche in Kemes* beinge a pariſhe of xx^tie^ or xxx^tie^ houſholdes and lardge in quantitie, haueinge in it both plaine grounde, hills, and rockes, that within the limitts of that pariſhe, there was never ſeene anye Adder alyve, although in the pariſhes rounde aboute they are founde contynuallye as in other places of the Countrey[6]: this beinge true, as I am perſwaded it is, is a thinge to be wondered at in deede,

No Adders in Whitchurch.

[1] Hollowness. [2] Breakers. [3] Scum.

[4] See the account of Bosherston Mere given by Mr. Nicholas Roberts, rector of Llanddewi Velfrey, in Gibson's *Camden*, ed. 1695, cols. 640-1. In Fenton's time (see *Pemb.*, p. 413) the blow-hole had become obstructed, but I have been informed by the Rev. J. G. Lloyd, the present Rector of Bosherston, that the ugly and terrible noises are still heard at rare intervals.

[5] Lordship.

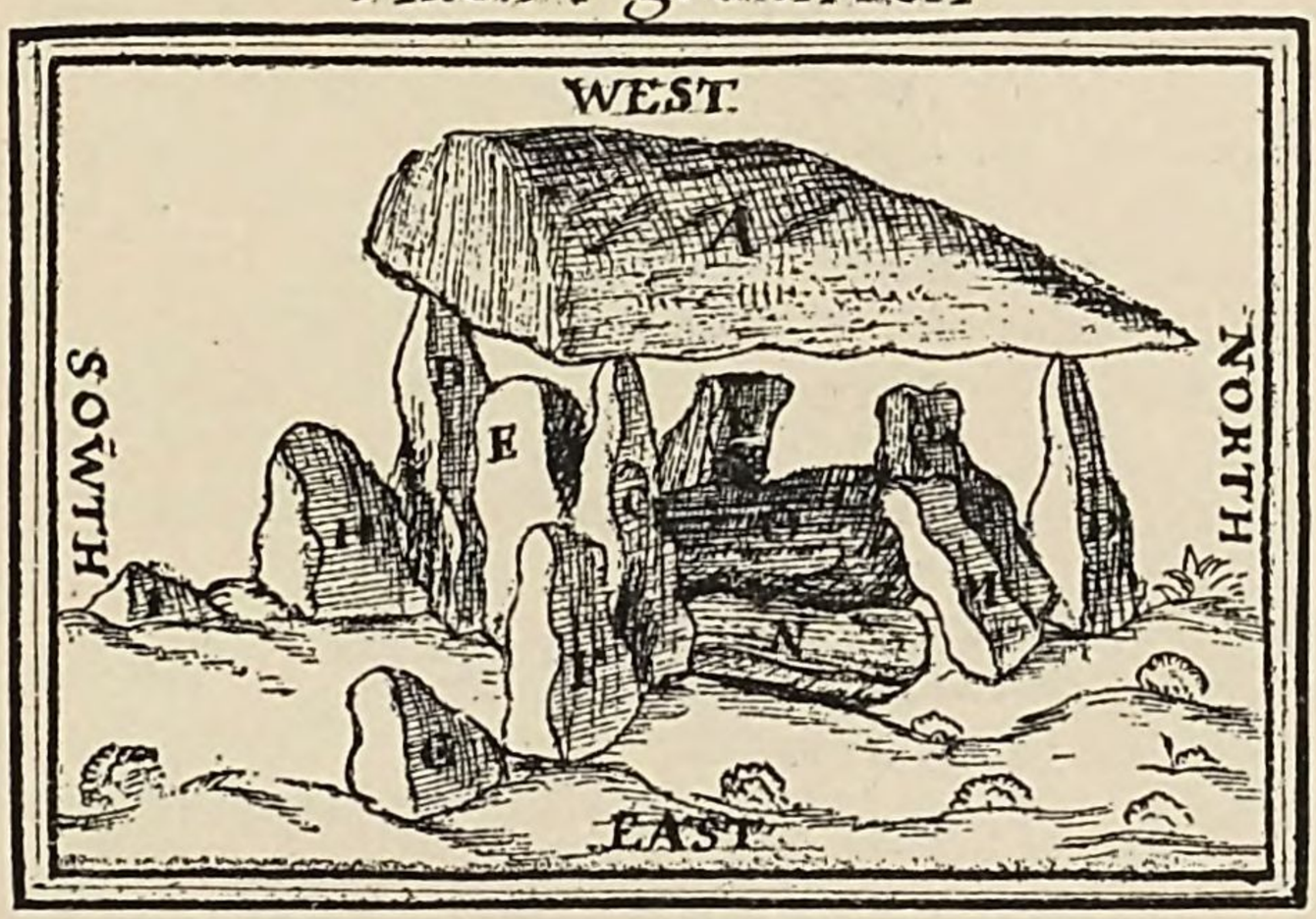
[6] The same story is told of the parish of St. David and its subordinate parish of Whitchurch in Dewisland, and attributed to the influence of St. Patrick's connection with the place. It is of this parish of Whitchurch in Kemes that the author states that the rustics played chess and had Welsh names for the chessmen. (Fenton, *Pemb.*, p. 527.) See note (*v*) at the end of this book.

what affinitie this pariſhe onlye and none other ſhould haue with the land of *Ireland*, or with the Countrey of *Bugh ghanne*[1] in *Scotland;* which as *Boetius*[2] writeth breadeth noe rattes neyther will they lyve beinge brought thyther from ells where /

8. †An other thinge worth the noteinge is the ſtone called *Maen y gromlegh* vpon *Pentre Jevan* lande[3]: yt is a huge and

Fo. 100b, anc. 97b. *Maen y Gromlegh.*

Maen y gromlech



maſſie[4] ſtone mounted on highe and ſett on the toppes of iij^ee other highe ſtones, pitched ſtandinge vpright in the grounde, yt farre paſſeth for biggnes and height *Arthurs* ſtone[5] in the waye

[1] *I.e.*, Buchan, an ancient district of Eastern Scotland, now included in the counties of Banff and Aberdeen.

[2] Hector Boece, a Scotchman, who died in 1536, wrote in Latin *Scotorum Historia*, which was translated into Scotch by Bellenden in 1536, and thence into English by Harrison for Holinshed's *Chronicles* in 1577. Bellenden, *Description of Albion*, cap. 9, says, 'Na rattonis ar sene in this cuntre (Buchquhane), and als sune as thay ar brocht thair, thay de.'

[3] Formerly surrounded by the forest of *Killreth* or *Kilrhyth.* (See p. 86, above.)

[4] This is the only ancient monument in Wales which has been placed for preservation under the Act of 1882 by the owner of the land (Lord Kensington). (See *Y Cymmrodor*, xi, 9.) For drawings of the cromlech in its present state, see *Arch. Camb.*, 4th Series, iii, 129, v, 64-5.

[5] At Moccas in Herefordshire. It is said now to be called 'King Arthur's Table'. The Llanboidy cromlech (see the next note) is or was called by the same name in Welsh (*Bwrdd Arthur*) ; the cromlech on Cefn Bryn in Gower is called 'Arthur's Stone', and there are three cromlechs called *Coetan Arthur* or 'Arthur's Quoit' in N. Wales, near Harlech, near Criccieth, and in the parish of Llanfihangel Tre 'r Beirdd in Anglesey. For a list of places called after Arthur in Wales (*cum quibusdam aliis*) see *Arch. Camb.*, 4th Series, iii, 269-70; v, 88-90.

between *Hereford* and the *Haye*, or *Legh yr aſt* neere *Blaen Porth* in *Cardiganshere*,[1] or anye other that ever I ſawe, ſaveinge ſome

[1] Blaenporth church is 6 miles E.N.E. of Cardigan. *Llech yr Ast* means 'the Stone of the Bitch'; the same name was also borne (1) by a big stone, partly supported by a second stone, in the parish of Llangoedmore, not far off (Edward Lhuyd in Gibson's *Camden*, 1695, cols. 646, 677; Meyrick's *Cardiganshire*, p. 119); (2) by a cromlech near Ro Wen, on the mountain road between Tal y Cafn and Bwlch y Ddeufaen, Carnarvonshire; see (1) *Y Cymmrodor*, v, 276-7, where this name is given from the Rhyl (there and at p. 278 misprinted *Rhyd*) MSS. of Mr. John Lloyd of Caerwys, and (2) the Welsh tract of which a copy is found in Addl. MS. 15,022, fo. 110, where the cromlech is called '*Llech yr Ast*, or *Llech y Filiaist* (*sic*) in the parish of Caer Rhun'. Cromlechs in Wales, when their popular name has been preserved, often turn out to be called after some *gast* ('bitch') or *miliast* ('greyhound-bitch'). The latter animal gave its name (1) to the cromlech at Dol Wilym in the parish of Llanboidy, Carmarthenshire, which Lhuyd (*op. cit.*, col. 628) says was called *Gwâl y Filast* (*gwâl* is a 'lair', and *filast* is the S.-Welsh form of *filiast*); (2) to a stone supported, like the *Llech yr Ast* at Llangoedmore, by a second and smaller stone (the two perhaps forming the remains of a cromlech), near Castleton (between Newport and Cardiff) in Monmouthshire (*op. cit.*, col. 646), and also called *Gwâl y Filast;* (3) to the well-known cromlech called *Gwâl y Filast*, on the farm of Maes y Felin, anciently called *Gwâl* y Felin, in the parish of St. Lythan's, Glamorganshire. In the same district, in the parish of Roath, there was a place called *Bedd y Ci Du* or 'The Black Dog's Grave' (Rees Merrick, ed. 1887, p. 91), whence probably Roath *Dogfield*, one of the three manors in Roath parish; the old gallows at the end of Plucca Lane (and opposite the New Infirmary), within that manor, was early in this century supposed (we are informed by Mr. Storrie, of the Cardiff Museum) to be haunted and guarded of nights by a black dog. The mountain between Carnedd Llywelyn and Pen Llithrig y Wrâch in Carnarvonshire is called *Moel y Ci Du* on its E. slope towards the Vale of Conway (from which valley it is very conspicuous); but on the 1-inch Ordnance Map (Sheet 78) it is called *Pen Helyg*. There are also well-known hills called *Carnedd y Filiast* and *Moel y Ci* on the other side of the Ogwen, near Bethesda (see Williams of Llandegai's *Snowdon Mountains*, 1802, pp. 101-2, 130-2). Some or all of these dog-names may be connected with legends such as that which derived the name of *Carn* (or *Corn*) *Cafall*, near Rhayader, from *Cafall* (anciently spelt *Cabal*), Arthur's hound, who was said, as early as the 8th or 9th century (see *Mirabilia Britanniæ* in Stevenson's *Nennius*, § 73), to have left the print of his foot on a stone of the *Carn* whilst hunting the Twrch Trwyd (see Price's *Remains*, Llandovery, 1854-5, ii, 256-8, and Guest's *Mabinogion*, ii, 359-360). Thomas Stephens (*Arch. Camb.* for 1856, 3rd Series, ii, 103-4) suggests a connection between these cromlech-names and the legendary *Gast Rhymi* or 'Rumney Bitch' of *Kilhwch and Olwen* (Oxford *Mabinogion*, 111, 7; 132, 5), which was discovered by Arthur transformed into a she-wolf (*bleiddast*) in a cave at Milford (*Aber Deu Gleddyf* or *Aber Cleddyf*), and points out that the Monmouthshire *Gwâl y Filast* is near the Rumney. He says there is also a *Llech y Fleiddast* in Wales, but forgets its exact locality. There is also a *Ffynnon Milgi* or 'Greyhound's Well' in Llanelidan parish, Denbighshire (*Arch. Camb.*, 4th Series, iii, 134).—E. P.

in *Stonedge*[1] vpon *Salisburie* plaine called *Chorea gigantum*[2] beinge on of the cheefe wonders of *England;* the ſtones whereon this is layed, are ſoe highe, that a man, on horſbacke, may well ride vnder it, without ſtowpinge, the ſtone that is thus mounted is xviij[en] foote longe and nyne foote broade, and three foote thicke at the on ende, but thinner at the other, and from it, as it is apparante ſince his placeinge there, is broken a peece of 5 foote broade & 10 foote longe, lyeinge yett in the place more then 20 oxen would drawe, doubtles this ſtone was mounted longe tyme ſeethence in memorye of ſome greate victorye, or the buryall of ſome notable parson, w[ch] was the ancient Rite for that it hathe pitched ſtones ſtandinge on againſt the other, rounde aboute, and cloſe to the huge ſtone, w[ch] is mounted highe to be ſeene afarre off, much like to that w[ch] is written. *Libro primo Machabeorum cap:* 13[3] of the buryall of the *Patriarche Jacob (Et edificauit Simon ſuper ſepulchrum patris ſui et fratrum ſuorum ædificium altum viſu, lapide polito, retro et ante, et ſtatuit ſeptem pyramides, vnam contra vnam, patri et matri et quatuor fratribus, et hijs circumpoſuit columnas magnas et ſuper columnas arma ad memoriam æternam et iuxta arma naves ſculptas quæ viderentur ab hominibus navigantibus mare)* or ſuch notable thinge, but there is noe reporte or memorie or other matter to be founde of the cauſe of the erectinge of this *Trophea*, they call the ſtone *Gromlegh*, but I thinke the true etymologie is *grymlegh*,[4] that is the ſtone of

[1] *I.e.*, Stonehenge, 1½ miles W. of the town of Amesbury, in Wiltshire. This is enumerated as the tenth of the 'Wonders of England' in the tract printed in the Appendix to vol. iv of Higden's *Polychronicon* (Rolls ed., 1872, p. 478), from MS. Trin. Coll. Camb., 'R. 14. 7' (fos. 156-7), and in the Appendix to Hearne's *Robert of Gloucester* (1724), p. 573, from MS. Rawlinson, D. 358, fos. 97-101. In the first of these texts Stonehenge is called *Stanhengles*, in the second *Stanhengist.* Higden himself (*op. cit.*, ii, 22-3), in his chapter (i, 42) about the 'Wonders of Britain', uses the more correct form *Stanhenges.*

[2] See note (*w*) at the end of this book.

[3] *Maccabees*, I, xiii, 27.

[4] Lewis (*Camb. Reg.*, ii, 218-9) favours the theory (to which he had been converted by Sir Richard Basset, of Beaupre, Glamorganshire, in which county it chiefly or entirely originated) that it was the *maen gorsedd*, the 'altar of the bards'. For the connection of the bards with the neighbourhood he instances *Ffynnon Ofydd*, now called *Ffynnon Wyad*, in Newport parish (*hwyad* means 'a duck'!), and *Carn Englyn* (as to the traditional derivations of which see p. 105, above, note 1), in the same parish. Lewis also quotes, for the former prevalence of 'bardism' in Dyfed, the more solid instances of his ancestor, Cuhelyn *Fardd*, son of *Gwynfardd Dyfed* (see Lewis' pedigree in *op. cit.*, p. 65, note). This title of *Gwynfardd* (whatever it meant; possibly a sort of district poet-laureate?) is also found in the name of *Gwynfardd Brycheiniog* (1160-1220), for whose works see *Myv. Arch.*, i, 269-273; and a similar name to that of these

ſtrengthe, for that greate ſtrength was vſed in the ſettinge of it to lye in ſorte as it doeth,[1] there are other ſtones in iij or iiij^or^ other places in the Countrey adioyneinge[2] as *Legh y tribedd*[3] neere *Ricordſtone* and one in *Newport* neere the bridge, another beneethe the Towne but not comparable to this, neyther in biggnes or in ſtandinge ſoe highe /

And becauſe I haue redd of wonders of diu*er*ſe Countreys which moſt comonlye I haue founde to be ix in nomber lett me make vpp the like nomber with a ſtrange event, that happened in this Countrey in the begyneinge of *June* in the yeere of our Lorde god 1601 w^ch^ was this /

There happened that ſuddenly as if the ſame had fallen by a ſhowre out of the ayre, agreate peace of grounde to the quantitie of cc. Engliſhe acres, was cou*er*ed in a maner with a kinde of Catterpillers or greene wormes, haueinge manye legges and bare without heare, they were founde in ſuch aboundance that a man treadinge on the grounde ſhould treade upon xx or xxx of them, and in this ſorte they contynued for the ſpace of three †weekes or more, noe man knowinge howe they came, nor anye of the like ſorte ever ſeene in the Countrey before or ſeethence, and beinge killed and opened there was noe gutte nor anye thinge ells w^th^in them, but only graſſe, w^ch^ they had devoured, the place was on a

Caterpiller at Maenclochogg.

Fo. 102a, anc. 99a.

'Blest Bards of Dyfed and Brecknock' seems to be *Berdicguent*, whose name should mean the 'Little Bard of Gwent', and who appears as a witness to three charters in *Lib. Land.*, 259-263. The word *Berddig* also seems to occur as the epithet of Afan *Ferddig* (corruptly called *Auan uedic* and *Mianuerdic*—see *Red Book Triad* No. 48, in *Y Cymmrodor*, iii, 59; vii, 130; and also No. 11 in Skene's *Four Books*, ii, 458), said by tradition to have been the poet of Cadwallon ap Cadfan, the celebrated king of Gwynedd, slain in 634.

[1] See note (*x*) at the end of this book, on the word *cromlech.*

[2] The district is especially rich in these remains, all of which are either on the coast or within sight of the sea. Many of the similar, but more important and extensive, remains near Vannes and Auray and elsewhere in Brittany, are either in sight of or very near the sea.

[3] 'The trivet (or tripod) stone.' The second of the two cromlechs so named is, like the Pentre Evan cromlech, in Nevern parish. It is so called because of its three supporters (see the pictures of it in the frontispiece to Fenton's *Pembrokeshire* and in *Arch. Camb.*, 4th Series, iii, 132). The Welsh *trybedd*, an utensil which no Welsh farm-house was formerly without, is a circle or round piece of iron standing on three legs or supporters, which generally are about nine inches long. *Trybedd* (Breton *trebez*, *trebe*), is derived direct from the Latin *tripes*, *tripedis*, like the French *trépied*, whence our *trivet* is derived.

Riccardston, according to Fenton (*Pemb.*, p. 535), was formerly called Hoodestown, from Lucas de Hoda, an ancestor of the Owens of Henllys, and a companion of Martin of Tours. See the *Preface* to this work, p. vii.

hill in the pariſhe of *Maen-clochog aboue ffynon Ddewy*[1] they were founde as it were with on accorde to goe on waye vid*elicet* vpp the hill, and went over the hill a quarter of a myle and more, and as they went did devoure and conſume the graſſe that the grounde appeared bare & redd like fallowe, and after they had contynued there iij weekes there reſorted thether an infinitte nomber of ſeamewes and Crowes, as if all of manye Countreys had ben ſommoned thether, who in fewe dayes conſumed them all, after they had conſumed all the graſſe of the mountaine, alſoe ſwyne fedd vpon thoſe wormes egerlye, and waxed verye fatte, this for the rare event thereof I thought good to note amonge the wonders, allthoughe it be not permanent, yett more ſtrange then anye of the other[2]. /

I could have noted ſome other thinges in this Countrey which for theire rarietie might haue claimed rome in this place, but for that I tyed my ſelfe to the nomber of Nyne, and leaſte[3] I might become to wonderfull I will reſt here & ſpeake ſome what of them in my ſeconde booke when I ſhall haue occaſion to ſpeake of the places the ſame are in. /

[1] This name suggests an ancient dedication to St. David; Maen-clochog church is now dedicated to St. Mary, and there is a Ffynnon *Fair* not far from the church. In the neighbouring parish of Bletherston there is also a Ffynnon *Gain*, which perhaps records an ancient dedication to St. Cain Wyry or Keyne the Virgin. The dedication of Bletherston church seems unknown; but as the Welsh name of Bletherston is *Tref Elen*, and there is an Elen's Well in Llawhaden parish (of which Bletherston is a chapelry), Bletherston church may (like that of *Llanelen* near Abergavenny, and the extinct *Llanelen* in the parish of Llanrhidian in West Gower) have been dedicated to St. Helena. There is also a Ffynnon Samson, in the parish of Llangolman.

[2] In a letter preserved in *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 208, p. 48, from Edward Lhuyd (therein called Floyd), the antiquary, to Dr. Martin Lister, dated 20th February 169$\frac{3}{4}$, this story is quoted from 'a MS. of a Mr. George Owen, a gentleman of that country, who seems to have been a person of considerable accuracy and veracity'. In a letter immediately preceding, Edward Lhuyd gives an account of a swarm of locusts which visited Mathry in October 1693.

[3] Lest.

Fo. 102b, anc. 99b.

Of *the worthynes of* Penbrokſhere, *and the people thereof in Ancient tyme, and what benefitt that Country hath yelded to the Realme of* England, *howe* Ireland *and the cheefeſt partes of* Wales *was firſt and cheefely ſubdued by it to the Crowne of* England, Cap: 27.

In ſpeakeinge in praiſe and worthines of the people, and this Countey if I ſhall ſeeme fervent therein, yett I ſhould therefore partelye deſerve pardon (the love and affection of my Countrey eggeinge me therevnto) and in the ſame I ſhall in ſome thinges Iterat, that w^ch allreadie I haue ſpoken before in the fifte chapiter, where I ſpeake of the conſtitucion of the people /

Yett ſeeinge this Countrey, amonge other of *Wales* hath ben famouſe for theire love, loyalltie and ſervice to the kinges of this Realme, and ſoe affected of the Kinges and people of *England* for the ſame, that they haue termed it a ſecond or little *England*, lett not therefore the ſame be buryed in oblivion and rather I had herein to be taxed with the fault of *Tautalogia* in to often repeateinge one thinge then founde obſcurely to vſe the figure *Synecdoche* in layeinge downe *Pars pro toto*, allthoughe when I haue done all I maye, I muſt ſaye, *Invtilis ſeruus ſum*,[1] in not beinge able to ſaie herein as much as it deſerveth . /

And firſt, as touchinge the worthynes of the Countrey in ancient tyme, I haue before declared howe it was a Kingdome, and further to cite here the wordes of *Giraldus*, w^ch ſaieth that by the people of this Countrey the ſea coaſtes of *Wales*, hath ben kept in obedience to the Crowne of *England* & overcome and conquered the Realme of *Irelande;* his wordes alſoe in an other place in comendacion of *Penbrokſhere* men are theſe, *Erat autem gens hec originem a Flandria ducens, ab Anglorum Rege Hen: 1: ad hos fines inhabitandum tranſmiſſa, gens fortis et robusta, continuoque belli conflictu, gens Cambrenſibus inimiciſſima, gens (inquam) lanificiis, gens mercimonijs vſitatiſſima, quocumque labore sive periculo terra*

Praiſe of Penbrock-ſheeremen.

[1] An unprofitable servant.

marique lucrum querere, gens pervalida, viciſſim loco et tempore nunc ad aratrum, nunc ad arma; gens promptiſſima, gens vtique fælix et fortis; ſi vel regibus vt deceret Cambria cordi fuiſſet, vel prestitutis ſaltem et prefæctis iniuriarum dedecus animo vindice diſplicuiſſet[1], That is to ſaie This nacion (meaneinge the Engliſhmen of *Penbrokſhere*) deryve theire diſcent from *Flanders* · as men ſent thither to people theſe partes by Kinge *Hen: 1:* they are a valiaunte and ſtronge people, in contynuall conflicte of battell, a nac*i*on moſt hatefull to the welſhmen, a people adicted to cloth makeinge & trade of Marchandice, ſpareinge noe paine, nor feareinge anye perill by land or ſea, to encreaſe theire wealthe, valiaunte in warre, and as tyme and place requireth indifferent for the full[2] or the ſworde, a nation both ſtoute and happie, if *Wales* were (as it ſhould be) pleaſeinge to the kinge, or that the rulers thereof would redreſſe oppreſſions and puniſhe offenders. This was the opinion of *Giraldus Cambrenſis* of this †Countreymen in the tyme of Kinge *Hen: 2:* at wᶜʰ tyme he wrote his diſcripc*i*on of *Wales*, and when as *Wales* was not fullye ſubiecte to the kings of *England*, as you may well gather by his wordes, onlye this Countrey then held for the kinges of England, and had contynuall conflictes with the then princes of *Wales*, and whoe ſoe will carefullye looke into the nature of the remnante of theſe people, ſhall finde them not much to differ from *Giraldus* wordes to this daie, and to confirme his wordes therein certaine it is that the ſubdueinge of the Countrey of *Glamorgan* to the Crowne of *England* proceeded from hence, for *Eynon the ſone of Kediuor ap Collwyn*[3] who firſt procured and brought *Fitzhamon* and his knights to come to *Glamorgan*, was the ſonne of the prince of *Dyuett* that is *Penbrokſhere*,[4] and was with his

Fo. 103a, anc. 100a

Penbrokſhere men at the ſubdueing of Glamorgan.

[1] Rolls ed., vi, 83. See also William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, Rolls ed. (1887), pp. 365-6, 477, where he mentions the settlement of the Flemings in Wales by Henry I to check the Welsh, and in the second passage specifies the province of Ros (*Rhôs*, now Roose) as the district where they were settled.

[2] The fulling-mill.

[3] The author does not appear to have cause for claiming this prince of Welsh traitors for Pembrokeshire. His father, Cadivor, was lord of Blaen Cych, which is in Carmarthenshire.

[4] Dyfed, in its most shrunken limits, was much larger than Pembrokeshire. See note 2 on p. 45, pp. 46-9, 165-6, and note 2 on p. 199, above. It may be added to the last-cited note that part of the frontier of Dyfed, as fixed by the conquest of Cantref Mawr by the kings of Ceredigion in the eighth century (see *Y Cymmrodor*, xi, 55-7), is perhaps marked by the *Clawdd Mawr* or 'Great Dyke', which runs N. and S. over the watershed between the Towy and Teifi basins, from the brook called (after the dyke) *Nant y Clawdd*, a tributary of

Penbrochians partakers of that conqueſt of *Glamorgan*, whoe hadd the lande of *Sainghenith*[1] in *Glamorgan* geven him and his heires, and this was on of the firſt Countreys of *Wales* that was ſubdued to the Crowne of *England* procured by the meanes of a *Pembrokſhereman*, and afterwardes the manfullnes of Earle *Strongbowe* in conquerringe this Countrey it ſelf and in preſerveinge and keepeinge of it againſt the princes of *Wales* (and contynueinge meere Engliſhe in name, bludd and language), and deffendinge it to hold of the kinges of *England*, never ſufferringe the Ancient Inhabitantes to retorne to the ſame againe, (as manye partes of *wales* did, beinge once ſubdued by the Engliſhemen but ſoone loſt againe, namelye, *Cardigan* and *Carmarthen ſheres Angliſey* and diuerſe other partes of *Wales*) ys a thinge worthie of note and remembrance /

the Gwili (which itself joins the Towy at Abergwili, a little above Carmarthen), to the source of a brook called the Bargoed or Bargod (a tributary of the Teifi); a mile down which last brook are two farms called *Pen Clawdd* or 'Dyke Head', not far from Penboyr church. To the instances given in note 1, p. 224, above, of the use of *Demetia* for 'South-Wales', may be added a marginal gloss in the *Liber Landavensis* (see the Oxford *Book of Llann Dâv*, 1892, p. 125, l. 3 = Rees' ed., p. 118), where the *Demetice regionis* of the text, which means Dyfed proper, not South Wales, is glossed in a 15th century hand '*Suthwallie*'. For Hyfaidd, the last king but one of Dyfed, mentioned on pp. 8, 230-1, above, as having persecuted Asser at St. David's, see note (*y*) at the end of this book.—E. P.

[1] Senghenydd was the name of the mountainous district between the ridge of Cefn Onn on the S. (which divides it from the lowlands of Cibwr), Brycheiniog or Breconshire on the N., and the rivers Taff (in Welsh, *Tâf*) and Rumney (in Welsh, *Rhymni*, colloquially *Rhymi*) on the W. and E. The river Caeach (a tributary of the Taff), which intersects it, divided it into the commots of Uwch and Is Caeach; its strong place was Caerphilly on its southern frontier. Senghenydd is now represented by the hundred of Caerphilly; in ancient times it formed, together with Cibwr, a cantred known as *Cantref Breiniol*, or 'The Privileged Hundred' (see Oxford *Bruts*, p. 412, and *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 331). *Cibwr* or *Cibwyr* (spelt *Kybor* in *Lib. Land.*, 28, and *Kibour* in Hengwrt MS. 34—see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 331) is now represented by *Kibbor* Hundred; in Leland's time (*Itin.*, iv, 56-8) it consisted of the commots of Llandaff and 'Kibworth' (as he calls it), which in Speed's map (1615) have become the Hundred of Cardiff. The boundaries of this division were, on the S., the sea, on the N., Cefn Onn and Senghenydd, on the E., the Rumney; but on the W. it overstepped not only the Tâf, or Taff, but also the Afon Lai (anciently *Elai*, *Elei*), or Ely river, so as to include the parish of Caerau. The *Sein Henydd* and *Castell Sein Henydd* of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, pp. 284, 300, 302, though there erroneously translated 'Senghenydd', obviously from the context refer to *Saint Cenydd* or Llangenydd in Gower (see note 2 on p. 233, above). See further, on Senghenydd, note (*z*) at the end of this book.—E. P.

Alſoe the ſubdueinge of *Ireland* beinge a whole Realme by *Strongbow* Earle of this Countrey. and his people, and bringing it in obedience and ſubjection to the kinges of this lande as before I haue more lardglie declared

Ireland ſubdued by Penbrokshere men.

And out of this Countrey is deſcended ſome of the cheefe and principall men of *Ireland*[1] as the *Giraldines* of whome the Earles of *Deſmonde*[2] and *Kildare* drawe theire paternall deſcente, the Vicounte *Baltinglaſſe*[3]: the Lord *Roche*, the Lord *Barrye;* the *Flemings;* barons of *Slane*,[4] *Fitzmoris* baron of *Kery*,[5] *Mak Jordan*[6]

Nobilitie and Gentlemenne of Ireland deſcended out of Penbrokſhere.

[1] Most of these titles are now extinct. The Earl of Desmond became extinct in 1608, Lord Baltinglasse (whose family name was Eustace) in 1583, and Lord Roche (family name Roche) in 1753 (Lord Fermoy claims descent from Adam de Rupe of Roch Castle in the county of Pembroke). Lord Barry (of the house of Gerald the Welshman) became merged in the Earl of Barrymore, and extinct in 1824. Lord Slane became extinct in 1726. The Fitz Geralds, Earls of Kildare, are now represented by the Duke of Leinster, and the Fitz Morris', Lords Kerry, by the Marquess of Lansdowne. The Anglo-Norman, like the previous Norse settlers in Ireland, prefixed 'Mac' to their names, and so the posterity of Jordan de Excestre became the Mac Jordans of Mayo. The principal seat of the Irish descendants of the Wogans of Wiston in Pembrokeshire was in co. Kildare. Sir John Wogan, Lord-Justice of Ireland in the time of Edward I, was lord of Picton near Haverfordwest. The author might have added the De la Poers, Barons Tyrone of Haverfordwest, a title still borne by the Marquess of Waterford. For a further list of Pembrokeshire Irishmen, see Laws' *Little England*, p. 131.

[2] This is a corruption of the Irish *Deas-Mhumhain*, 'South Munster', just as Ormond is of *Air-Mhumhain*, 'East Munster', and Thomond of *Tuath-Mhumhain*, or 'North Munster'. There was also a kingdom of *Iar-Mhumhain*, or 'West Munster'.

[3] A town on the river Slaney, 12 miles N.E. of Carlow, in the counties of Wicklow and Carlow, and province of Leinster. Its name is a corruption of the Irish *Bealach Chonglais*, 'the pass (or road) of Cuglas'.

[4] A town on the Boyne, 8 miles W. of Drogheda, co. Meath.

[5] *Kerry* is a corruption of the Irish name *Ciarraighe* (or *Ciarraidhe*) *Luachra;* the name was applied only to a small part of co. Kerry, to which it has extended its name, and took its distinctive epithet (for there were at least three other places called *Ciarraighe* in Ireland) from Sliabh *Luachra*, or 'the *rushy* mountain', now Slievelougher, E. of Castleisland. The Welsh name *Kerry* or *Ceri*, which gives name to a parish in Montgomeryshire and to streams in S. Cardiganshire and S. Radnorshire, has nothing to do with the Irish word. It is either derived from a word *ceri*, meaning 'berries', or from the man's name *Ceri* (for an instance of which see *Black Book of Carm.*, fo. 32[a], printed in Skene's *Four Books*, ii, 29).

[6] Several members of this family are mentioned in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, *inter alios* (see O'Donovan's 2nd edition, 1856, vol. iii-iv, p. 731) 'Mac Jordan, John, son of Meyler, lord of *Baile Atha Leathan*' (now Ballylahan in the parish of Templemore, Barony of Gallen, co. Mayo), who was slain in 1394.

baron of *Deſerett*,[1] the *wogans of Greene* Caſtle[2] a greate and mightie people there in tymes paſt and manye other gentlemen whoſe names yett ſhewe them to be deſcended from hence where theire originall houſes are yett knowne, by and after theire owne names, and yett in the poſſeſſion of theire kindred in this Countrey /

Yf *Pembrokſhere* people then were the meanes of ſubdueinge *Ireland*[3] and *Wales* to the kinges of *England* the one being a kingdome and the other a principallitie, what glorie can be greater and what praiſe more worthie, and what other Countreys in this lande may vaunt themſelves of ſuch valiant atte*m*ptes and happie ſucceſſe, and therefore noe marvell that this Countrey was magnified above all the reſt of *Wales* to be a *Countye palantyne*. and well might the kinge of England call this his *litle England beyond Wales:* Beſide the worthynes of the people of this Countrey
Fo. 103b, anc. 100b. in gen*er*all, I maye ſpeake ſome what of the worthynes †and eſtima-c*i*on of our Ancient valiant Earles and other famouſe men that hath lived there in tyme paſt, for the w^ch^ I referre yow to the Catalogue of the Earles in the begineinge of the Booke, where yow ſhall

[1] Several places in Ireland are called *Diseart* (of which *Deserett* is a corruption), to which the name of a saint is generally suffixed. It is derived from the Latin *desertum*, and meant primarily a wilderness, and especially a wilderness selected for a hermitage. It is usually Anglicized into *Desert*, *Disert*, *Dysert*, or *Dysart* (there is also a parish of this name in Fifeshire, whence the present Earl of Dysart takes his title, and another *Dysart* in Maryton parish, Forfarshire, anciently spelt *Dysert*, *Dyserth; Dysart* was also the old name of the parish of Glenorchy, Argyllshire). *Inter alia*, there is a *Desart* in co. Kilkenny; and there was a *Disert Iolladhan*, now called Castledillon, in co. Kildare, and a *Disert Chiarain*, now Castlekeeran, near Oldcastle in Meath. Both the last two *Diserts* derive the first part of their modern name from mediæval castles. The Welsh form of *Diseart* is *Disserth* or *Diserth*, the name of a parish on the lower Ithon in Radnorshire, of another near Rhuddlan in Flintshire, and anciently also of the parish of Llansantffraid Glyn Conwy in Denbighshire; which word is *not* derived from *Din Serth*, or *Di-serth*, as some suppose. A Cornish *Disart* is mentioned in *Domesday Book* (Facsimile for Cornwall, p. 10).

[2] In Ireland there is a well-known *Green Castle*, at the mouth of Lough Foyle, near Moville, in the Barony of Inishowen, co. Donegal; the castle there, of which great ruins still remain, is said to have been first erected by Richard Burke, Earl of Ulster (the 'Red Earl'), in 1305. It is called in Irish *Caislen Nua* or 'New Castle' (see O'Donovan's *Annals of the Four Masters*, ed. 1856, vol. iii-iv, p 481). Another *Green Castle* gives name to a suburb of Belfast. There is a *Green Castle* (called in Welsh *Castell Moel*) on the right bank of the Towy estuary below Carmarthen, in the parish of Llangain; it was the residence in later times of the Rudds or Reeds (in Welsh spelt *Ryd*), a poem to one of whom (where the castle is spoken of as *tŵr glâs* in line 15) will be found in Lewis Glyn Cothi's *Works*, pp. 335-7.

[3] See *Gerald the Welshman*, p. 41.

finde that manye of the Earles of *Pembrok* haue ben the cheefe Peeres and pillers of this Realme, as *William Marshall* whoe ſlewe in on Battle Nyne thowſande of Prince *Lewelyns* men, and whoe alſoe optained the greate Charter of the liberties to all the Nobles and Comons of the Realme,

Alſoe it appeareth that in *An(n)o 4 Ed: 2: Annoque Christi 1311* when the kinge gave Comiſſion[1] to the Lordes and Barons of this lande to choſe and ſellect certaine of themſelues to make lawes to governe the Realme, and kinge. when as of all the Baronage ſpirituall and temporall there was choſen but xxi p*er*ſons to make thoſe lawes whereof there were choſen vij Buſhopps viij Earles and vij Barons iij of them were out of *Pembrokſhere*, namelye the Buſhoppe of *S^t Dauides* the Earle of *Pembrok;* and *S^r William Martyne* Lord of *Kemes* then Baron of the p*ar*liament by that name, *William de Valence*[2] was alſoe a Noble peere of the lande, *John duke of Bedford*[3] whoe in *Anno quinto Hen: 5* was made regend of *England*, and after was Regend of *Fraunce*, he fought the famowſe battle of *Vernoile* in *Perche* in *ffraunce*[4] where was the greateſt overthrow geven to the ffrenche that was harde of in that age, and *Humfrey the good duke of Glouceſter*[5] and manye other famouſe and valiaunte men, and haue ben Earles of this countey and poore Countrey, whoe with theire men ſervantes & tenantes haue done famouſe and worthie exploites in ſervice of the kinge & Realme /

What ſhall I ſaie of the people ſeeinge the lande and ſoyle it ſelfe and all the actions attempted therein, hath fatallye[6] from age to age prognoſticated Joice[7], peace, love and tranquillitie, to the whole realme as namelye, that here was borne the prince of peace king *Hen: 7:* whoe knitted the knott of peace, by vniteinge the redd roſe and the white out of w^ch knott hath ſpronge the peace of this lande, after ſoe manye broyles and ſheddinge of the bludd Royall of this Imperiall Crowne in w^ch domeſticall ſedic*i*on foure ſkore peeres of the bludd Royall and that in 36 yeeres as ſaieth *Bodin* out of *Phillipp de Commines*[8] hath ben killed by vntymelye

[1] The 'ordainers', a committee of peers appointed to regulate the king's household and to redress the grievances of the nation in 1310.

[2] Earl of Pembroke; see above, p. 22. [3] See above, p. 26.

[4] See p. 26, above (note 1). Le Perche was a dependency of Maine; Verneuil (in the *arrondissement* of Evreux, Dept. of Eure) was not in Perche (as stated by Holinshed), but on its borders, in the adjacent portion of Normandy.

[5] See above, p. 26. [6] See note 5 on next page.

[7] Apparently a mistake for 'joye'.

[8] Commines, i, 7. Jean Bodin, a French political writer, died in 1576.

Hayward[1] *contra Dolman. Cap: 8.*

deathe beſide multitudes of other Nobilitie and comons, *ſauns nomber* /

Here was the ſaied Kinge *Hen:* beſeidged in the caſtle of *Pembrok* in his greate weakenes, with his vnckle *Jasper*,[2] where he wanted noe reliefe but was by his people here, deffended and ſaffelye ſent to ſea, to ſave his liffe, at *Tenby* Towne he was ſpeedilye conveyed to ſea w[ch] the good prince not forgettinge at his comeinge to the Crowne rewarded *Mr White*,[3] aunceſtor to *Mr Harrye White of henllan*[4] nowe lyveinge, then mayor of *Tenby* for his good ſervice, with a leaſe of all the king*es* Landes aboute the ſaied Towne of *Tenby* a good recompence done to one man, for a goode deede to the whole Realme,

Here againe in *Pembrokſhere* happened his landinge and firſt footeinge when he came to enioye the Crowne, and to confounde the parricide and bluddie tyrante *Ri: 3* here founde he the

Fo. 104a, anc. 101a.

hartes and hands firſt of all this lande †readye to ayde and aſſiſt him and preſently after breathinge of this his natyve Countreys ayre began his forces to increaſe. The good kinge ſeemed to acknowledge this ſoyle fatall[5] and happie to him, for in the place where he firſt touched lande in *Milford havon;* he builded a Chappell[6] as thoughe he wiſhed to haue that luckye place hallowed to gods ſervice; of the bodie of this *Pembrokſhere Prince* hath ſprunge and budded out ſuch Joyes, as make the hartes of all good ſubiectes to leppe for ioye, as firſt in extinguiſhinge our home and domeſticall ſedic*i*on, as alſoe in thinkeinge vpon the happie yſſue out of his loynes, namely the famouſe kinge *Henry: 8:* in his tyme moſt famouſe in the world; Kinge *Edwarde;* Queene *Marye* and laſtlye our late & moſt gratious Soue*r*aigne Ladye Queene *Elizabeth* whoſe longe and peaceable governement was and maye be a myrror, or rather an admirac*i*on to all princes, Herein I muſt not omitte howe kinge *Hen: 8:* when he reſolved

[1] Sir John Haywarde, the historian, who died in 1627, wrote a reply to the tract of Robert Parsons, the Jesuit (who had taken the name of R. Doleman), on the succession to the Crown.

[2] Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke. See the pedigree in note 3 on p. 27, above.

[3] Thomas White; see Laws' *Little England*, p. 232. Fenton (p. 462) says that his Christian name was Griffith.

[4] In the parish of Llandewi Velfrey, now the seat of the Bishop of Llandaff.

[5] Destined by the fates (the Latin *fatalis*). Compare 'fatallye', p. 261, above. The author uses the word as equivalent to *fortunate*.

[6] At Dale. No vestige of the chapel remained in Fenton's time; see *Pemb.*, p. 166.

to marye with her Ma^tes mother, Queene *Anne Bullen*, amonge all the hon*or*able titles w^ch he had to beſtowe one his beſt beloved choſe to create her *Marques of Penbrok;* as a title fatall[1] to the mother of ſoe gracious & peaceable a Princes, And laſtlye more then all before, is yett ſaied howe of the bodie of this *Hen: 7:* is ſprunge vpp our nowe moſt gratious and ſoveraigne kinge *James*· by whoſe happie and bleſſed comeing to the imperiall Crowne of this Realme is joyned together the whole Ile of Brittaigne never harde or reade of ſoe ſeethence the death of *Brutus* firſt kinge of the whole, beinge nowe 2710 yeeres ſeethence,[2] what Joyes hereby poſſeſſeth the hartes of the people, Lett it be judged by the gen*er*all aplauſe of all people in receaveinge his highnes to the ſacred place, with inſpeakeable ioyes whome longe to enioye ſhalbe our prayer /

[1] See note 5 on p. 262, above.

[2] This alludes to the eponymic fable in Geoffrey of Monmouth (ii, 1), which relates how Brutus' three sons divided between them Great Britain (which had been held by their father in its entirety): Locrinus taking England (in Welsh *Lloegr*, Old-Welsh *Loycr;* see *Y Cymmrodor*, ix, 167, col. 1), Kamber Wales or *Cambria*, Latinized from the Welsh *Cymru* (which is here made to include all the country west of the Severn), and Albanactus (whose name is derived from the Irish and Gaelic *Alban*, 'Scotland', *Albanach*, 'Scottish') Scotland.

Fo. 104b, anc. 101b.

Of paſtimes *and recreations fitte for gentlemen, w^ch* Penbrokſhere *yeldeth, and of feates and exerciſes of Actyvitie wherein the playe called* Knappan *is deſcribed.* Cap: 28:

In treatinge of Paſtimes for recreacion of gentlemen, this Countrey is not deſtitute of ſuch ſolaces; but of it ſelf naturallye yeldeth aptnes for the ſame, thoughe by induſtrie of gentlemen, other Countreyes doe farre ſurmonte for preſerved game, ffirſt therefore amonge theſe I will place and ſpeake of hunteinge, w^ch the Countrey, beinge for the moſt parte champion and plaine, is for the ſame, verye pleaſante and delightfull, thoughe ſcarce of ſome ſtore of game, but herein I muſt crave pardon of gentlemen and experte woodmen, if I ſhall offende in my termes, in ſpeakeinge aboute this matter, for therein I muſt confeſſe my ſelfe to be vnſkillfull; about w^ch I muſt give to note that there neyther is, nor (to my knowledge) ever was, fforeſt or chaſe in this Countrey, I meane anye parte or territorie of grounde priviledged for beaſtes or fowle of foreſt, chaſe, and warren,[1] or beinge endowed with the lawes, priviledges, Immunities or courtes of lawe or officers belongeinge, and proper to a fforeſt, althoughe there are diverſe woodes and other places called and termed, by the name of fforeſtes, yett are they neyther foreſte, chaſe, nor warren indeede. Nevertheleſſe there is in this Countrey four beaſtes of fforeſte,

[1] A *forest*, which included the other franchises, was the right of keeping wild beasts and fowl in a certain tract, set apart for the purpose, with laws and officers of its own. The forests were chiefly in the hands of the Crown. The forest laws fell into disuse soon after the Revolution of 1688. A *chase* was the right of keeping and hunting certain beasts within a precinct so called, but was governed by the common law of the realm, and not by the forest law. (A park was a chase enclosed.) A *warren*—literally a *preserve*—was a place privileged for the custody of inferior beasts and fowl of venery, and in time came to be used only with reference to the coney, the most common 'beast of warren'. The author has evidently taken his information from Manwood's *Treatise of the Forest Laws*, first published in 1598, which is full of curious learning on vert and venery. The modern use of *forest* in the sense of a great wood has misled many into supposing that ancient forests consisting chiefly of moor and mountain, such as those of Snowdon, Dartmoor, Exmoor, or Radnor, were anciently so called from being heavily timbered.

thoughe fewe partes of *Englande* haue all the ſortes; for as I remember the beaſtes of fforeſt are thoſe that are called *feræ ſilveſtres*, and differre from thoſe of chaſe w^ch^ are called *campeſtres*[1]; Beaſtes of the fforeſt or beaſtes of venerye called *Silueſtres* are fyve *Beaſtes of Foreſts.*

Beastes of the Foreſt are fiue in nomber } *videlicett* { 1 *Harte*[2] 2 *hinde*[2] 3 *bore* 4 *wolfe* 5 *hare*

As for *hartes* and *hindes* althoughe there be a fewe, not worth ſpendinge anye ſpeach, yett ſome there are, and thoſe lyve without ſanctuarye or priviledge of fforeſt, free for ev*e*ry man to chaſe and hunte, at theire pleaſure, as for the wild *Bore* the ſame is ſoe rare, and as I here litle or none of that kinde of Veniſon[3] in *England*, but ſuere I am there is none within this Countreye, althoughe I haue ſeene wilde ſwyne kept, yett never preſerved for the game, and therefore as they and the *wolfes* are baniſhed the lande, ſoe I will expell them out of this treatiſe, althoughe it ſeemeth they were plentie in former ages,[4] ſeeinge our fforeſt lawes and the treatiſes of Ancient woodmen of *England* nomber them amonge *Feræ ſilueſtris* ſoe that for me to ſpeake of in this place there is onlye the ſeelye[5] *hare* left, of w^ch^ kinde of beaſtes I thinke noe Countrey in *England* yeldeth more plentie, yea in ſuch nomber neere vnto woodes and covertes, that the neighebours corne is by them greately endamaged, and I haue knowne in my tyme a huſbandman, that roſe often nights out of his bedd, to chaſe awaye the *hares* from his corne, ſoe much harme he founde by theire

Fo. 105a, anc. 102a.

[1] Those which lived in the woods and in the fields respectively.

[2] The male and female red deer. They are mentioned separately, as the male was hunted in summer and the female in winter.

[3] Any game hunted for food (from the Fr. *venaison*, derived from Lat. *venationem*). See Genesis, xxvii, 3.

[4] Traces of the wolf are to be found in plenty in Welsh place-names, *e.g.* *Blaidd-bwll* in the parish of Llanfyrnach, and Pistyll *y Blaidd* in the parish of Nevern, Pembrokeshire, Nant *y Blaidd* in that of Cynwyl Elfed, Cae *'r Blaidd* in that of Brechfa, and Cil *Blaidd* in that of Pencarreg, Carmarthenshire, Castell *y Blaidd* in Llanbadarn Fynydd, Radnorshire, Camfa *'r Bleiddiau* ('the Wolves' Leap') on the Irfon above Llanwrtyd in Breconshire, Nant *y Fleiddast* ('The She-Wolf's Brook'), a tributary of the uppermost Towy, Cae *Blaidd* in Kerry, Montgomeryshire. The wild boar has not left its generic name *baedd* to many (if any) places in Wales; but the words which were used for its male and female, as well as for those of the domestic swine, *twrch* and *hwch*, as well as the plural *moch*, 'swine', give their names to very many localities.

[5] Simple, harmless. See Chaucer, *The Wif of Bathes Prologue*, line 730. Elyot (*Gouernour*, Croft's ed., ii, 5) speaks of 'the sely bestis'.

Plentie of hares.

feedinge, and althoughe the traſeinge of *hares* on the ſnowe (an offence forbidden by Parliament[1]) be not looked vnto or ſeaverely puniſhed in theſe partes, and that traſeinge is vſed ordinarylie, ſoe that ſome on man amonge manye others hath ſlaughtered in on forenoon xvj or xvij *hares* to his parte yett is theire encreaſe ſuch as noe man feeleth griefe or perceaveth wante. Therefore this beaſte affordeth ſufficiente paſtyme to hunte with the houndes and chaſe with grayehoundes, and manye places of this ſheere is litle or noethinge inferior for plentye to the ſpeciall warrens of *hares* preſerved in manye partes of *Englande* for nobillitie and gentlemens pleaſures, and this paſtime of hunteinge the *hare*, is the greateſt and moſt vſed in this Countrey of all other

Beaſtes of chaſe.

Beaſtes of chaſe, as the booke	1	*the Buck*
of the antiquities of *Brittaigne*,	2	*the Doe*
and *Sr Truſtram* in his treatyſe	3	*the Fox*
of hunteinge,[2] ſaieth are alſoe	4	*the Martorn*[3]
fyve in nomber that is to ſaye	5	*the Roe*

Theſe Beaſtes of Chaſe are not in eſtimacion, ſoe royall as the former beaſtes of Venerye, and differ in this, that theſe of Venerye or beaſtes of the fforeſte, lyve in woodes and Covertes all daie, and goe to feede abroade to the meadowes, paſtures and fieldes in the night ſeaſon, as the kingelye prophett ſpeakeinge to the lorde deſcribeth them[4]

[1] 14 and 15 Hen. VIII, cap. 10, after reciting that 'our Sovereign Lord the King and other noblemen of this realm of England have exercised the game of hunting of the hare for their disport and pleasure, which game is now almost utterly destroyed, for that divers persons, by reason of the tracing in snow, kill the same hares by ten, twelve, or sixteen upon one day, to the displeasure of our Sovereign Lord' and the noblemen aforesaid, enacts 'that no persons, of what estate, degree, or condition they be, from henceforth trace and kill any hare in the snow with any dog, bitch, bow, nor otherwise', under the penalty of 6*s.* 8*d.* for every hare so killed.

[2] Sir Tristram, of Round Table fame, was a mighty hunter, and the terms of the chase were popularly attributed to him. The treatise referred to is probably *The Boke of St. Albans;* see Blades' ed., under *Bestys of the Chace.* See too Sir Walter Scott's *Sir Tristrem*, 1804, pp. 31-2, and the notes on the passage, pp. 255-65. The reference to the book of the *Antiquities of Britain* the author may have obtained from Manwood, who speaks (4th ed., page 160) of 'the book called *Antiquitas Britanniæ* which was written before the Conquest'. Manwood quotes in his work several treatises not now extant in print.

[3] Marten; *martern* is the older English form, derived from the French *martre*, like *bittern* from Fr. *butor.* The *-n* is excrescent in both cases; compare such instances in Welsh as *Nevern* from the true Welsh form *Nyfer* (Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 138) or *Talarn* (in place-names in Brecknockshire and English Maelor) from *talar.*

[4] Psalm civ, 20 and 22.

Qu umtenebras inducis fit nox, in quâ omnes ferœ ſilvestres prodeunt vbi ſol ortus est ſe recipiunt et in cubilia ſua cubitum eunt.

The beaſtes of the fforeſt differre alſoe from thoſe of chaſe in this, the treſpaſſe of the on is puniſheable by the fforeſt lawes, and the later by the lawes of the Realme onlye, and not otherwiſe /

The *Buck* and *Doe*[1] are in this Countrey verye ſcarce preſerved in two[2] ſmall parkes onlye, and not in anye fforeſt or chaſe, and the nomber verye fewe /

ffor the third I meane *Mr Foxe*, his neighborhood amonge vs is more comon then comendable, and if for pleaſure he be deſired of fewe, for his condicons he is hated of moſt, this grave gentleman, for his furres ſeemeth to be a Townſman, for his witte and invencion in *Stratagemmes an Engener*, for keepeinge his Caſtle *Malepardus*,[3] a ſpaniarde, he is beloved in generall as the executioner of *Tyburne*, and as profitable in the comon wealthe as a Relator[4]

The *Marton*[5] is the iiij[th] Beaſte of Chaſe this allthoughe he be more Innocente then the laſt, as prayeinge onlye vppon the Bees, hath manye tymes with †his ſweete meate ſoure ſawce, yett in on thinge they concurre that they are deſired onlye for the two laſt ſillables[6] of theire Carcaſes: of this kinde of beaſtes there is good ſtore, and much huntinge of them wherein diverſe gentlemen are often ſolaced / Fo. 105b, anc. 102b.

ffor *Roes* the Countrey yeldeth not anye, neyther did I ever here of anye by Reporte of the Ancient men, to haue ben vſuallye in this Countrey

Thus haueinge ſpoken of the fyve ſortes of beaſtes of the fforeſt w[ch] alſoe are called beaſtes of Venerye, as alſoe the fyve

[1] The male and female fallow-deer.

[2] Lamphey and Williamston. Fenton (*Pemb.*, p. 246) says that the latter was probably part of Sir John Perrot's estate, forfeited to the Crown.

[3] The castle of Reynard the Fox, in the famous beast-epic.

[4] A common informer, called on p. 5, above, a 'promoter' (in Latin *delator*, in French *délateur*). See Tusser, *Description of an envious neighbour* (*English Dialect Society*), p. 147 : 'His eies be promooters, some trespas to spie.' The 'common informer' sued in the courts of law, especially in the Star Chamber, either by himself or jointly with the Crown, for the penalty recoverable under some penal (and often obsolete) statute. The trade was brought to a high state of perfection under Empson and Dudley in the reign of Henry VII, and after the Reformation the 'popish recusants' afforded much scope for its exercise. See Coke, *3rd Inst.*, cap. 88, 'Against vexatious relators, informers, and promooters upon penal statutes.'

[5] The pine marten.

[6] In its original meaning, 'something held together' (Gr. *συλλαβή*). Compare *Macbeth*, v, 5 : 'The last syllable of recorded time.'

ſortes of the beaſtes of chaſe, all w^ch^ ten ſortes are comprehended vnder the name of Veniſon, Next cometh in courſe to ſpeake of beaſtes and fowle of warren which are in nomber foure.[1] /

Beaſtes & foule of waren.

videlicet { *the* } *Hare*, *Coonye*, *Feaſant*, *Partridge*

Whoſoever hath libertie of free warren, maye haue his ſpeciall action of Treſpaſſe at the comon lawe, againſt anye that ſhall hunte or chaſe therein: and as I haue ſaied before of parkes and chaſes, ſoe of free waren, I know fewe or none that hath that libertie, thoughe diu*erſ*e gentlemen haue good warens of *Coonyes*, yett all vnpriviledged: The *Pheſant* and *Partridg* I referre them to my wordes, where I haue ſpoken of wildfowle[2]—The reſt of the game that the Countrey yeldeth for chaſe of huntſmen are rather vermyne then beaſtes of game, ſuch is the wild catte,[3] the Brocke,[4] and ſuch like whereof there is more ſtore then neceſſarye, and make often good ſporte to the huntſmen /

Huntinge the wilde bull oxe & calffe

I haue alſoe ſeene good paſtime in hunteing and killing the wild bull, wild oxe and wild calfe, by horſemen and footemen, whereof there is yett ſome ſtore, reared vpon the mountaines, thoughe leſſe then heretofore, the owners findinge more profitte by the tame, then pleaſure in the wilde

Hawkinge.

ffor hawkeinge the Countrey both for plainenes, of the ſoyle, plentie of game both for the field and Ryver, yeldeth ſtore, w^ch^ I referre to my former ſpeaches, treateinge of wild fowle,[2] and in this place will only ſpeake of the aptnes of the Countrey w^ch^ for plaine downes, highe mountaines, pleaſante brookes and Ryvers, there needeth not to be wiſhed more then[5] is.

[1] Coke (*Littleton*, 233[a]) divides the fowls of warren into (1) *Terrestres*, including *Silvestres*, as 'phesant, wood cocke, etc.', and *Campestres*, as 'partridge, quaile, raile, etc.'; and (2) *Aquatiles*, as 'mallard, herne, etc.' He includes roes (*capreoli*) among beasts of warren.

[2] See pp. 128-32, above. The partridge is mentioned on p. 131, and the pheasant on pp. 149-150.

[3] The wild cat gives name to many places in Wales, such as *Carreg y Gâth* near Pentir, Carnarvonshire, *Rhyd y Gâth* in Llanfyrnach, Pembrokeshire, and *Craig Câth* near Pont Erwyd, Cardiganshire, but is now extinct in the Principality.

[4] It is not generally known that *brock*, *i.e.*, a badger, is not an original English word, but borrowed from the Welsh or some cognate tongue. The Welsh, Cornish, and Breton is *broch*, and the Irish, Gaelic, and Manx, *broc;* the English *brok* occurs in *Prompt. Parv.* and *Piers Plowman*. Badgers are still to be found in Pembrokeshire.

[5] Than.

Next vnto theſe exerciſes of pleaſure, fiſhinge is to be preferred, *fisheinge.* whereof the Countrey yeldeth plentye, eyther for the Angle, nette, wheele,[1] hooke, or otherwiſe, as well in the freſhe ryvers, as the mayne ſeas, as before I haue declared in the *15th chapter*, where I treate of the ſortes of fiſhe, wch fiſhing althouge †I ſpake of it, in that place as a matter of profitte and comoditie of the ſhere, yett for that manye ſortes of fiſhinge is alſoe vſed more for recreacion and exerciſe, then for profitte: I will afforde it a place here amonge the pleaſures of the ſhere

Fo. 106a, anc. 103a.

ffowlinge alſoe claimeth a place with the pleaſures of this Countrey, wch for that I cannot iuſtlye denye it, yt ſhall gang[2] amonge them and truelye not vnworthylye, conſideringe the greate aboundance of fowle that yerely haunteth the Countrey, whether the ſame be taken with lyme, nett, peece,[3] Croſbow, longbowe, and bolt, ſtone bowe,[4] Truncke[5] or dogg, the particulers thereof would require a whole treatiſe, Certes the ſame is accompanied with as much pleaſure and delite, as profitt and comoditie, for the better vnderſtandinge whereof I referre you to the xvjth chapter, wherein you maye ſee, the ſeuerall ſortes of fowle, yeerelye haunteinge the Countrey, and thereby Imagine the ſondrey kindes of takeinge of them, and what varietie of pleaſures maye be founde thereby./ *Fouleinge.*

As for gameinge at Cardes and dice, I knowe noe Countrey vſeinge leſſe, and Archerye the faireſt game of *England* as in other partes, the ſame is yett talked of but rarely practiſed,[6] ſoe farre are the moderne myndes alienated from theire forefathers, but bowles and Tennys playe beinge both games and exerciſes, are much frequented, and althoughe they be prohibited[7] yett in my ſimple opinion they are not *mala in ſe*, and beinge moderatlye vſed of *Gameinge.*

[1] A trap made of osiers, the *eel-buck* of the Thames. See Tusser, *Februaries Abstract*, ad fin.

[2] Go. The word is so used by Spenser in the *Shepheard's Calender*, *March*, line 57. The word survives in modern English in the redundant *gang*-way.

[3] Fowling-piece.

[4] A cross-bow for shooting stones. See *Wisdom of Solomon*, v, 22.

[5] A long tube for shooting pellets ; see Howell's *Letters* (Jacobs' ed.), i, 209.

[6] Gerald (*Works*, vi, 54, 177) says that the South-Welsh were better at archery than the North-Welsh (who, at least in Meirionydd and Ardudwy, excelled as spearmen—*pars ista lanceis præstat*), and the archers of Gwent the best archers of S. Wales.

[7] There were many old statutes against unlawful games, as tending to the decrease of archery practice. The principal of these, 33 Hen. VIII, cap. 9, 'An Acte for mayntenance of artyllerie and debarringe of unlawful games', contained stringent enactments against (among others) bowls and tennis. This Act was not repealed until 1845.

parſons,[1] and in ſeaſons fitt, they are the games that yeld more exerciſe to mans bodie then anye other/

wraſtleinge. The Youthes alſoe practiſe wraſtlinge, throwinge the ſtone, barre, and ſledge,[2] therein to ſhew theire actyvities, as alſoe in runneing and leapinge/

But beinge drawne to ſpeake of the exerciſe of the bodie, I cannott overpaſſe a game vſed in on parte[3] of this ſheere amonge the Welſhmen both rare to heare, trobleſome to diſcribe, and painefull to practiſe, yett for the rarietie thereof, I crave pardon to troble yow, and thoughe ſomewhat longe, yett as breiſe as I

Knappan. maye, This game is called *Knappan*[4] and not vnfittlye as ſhalbe ſhewed, the game is thought to be of greate antiquitie, and is as followeth/

The ancient *Brittaignes* beinge naturallye a warlicke nation did (noe doubte) for the exerciſe of theire youth in tyme of peace, and to avoid Idlenes, deviſe games of activitie where eche man might ſhewe his naturall prowes and agillitie, as ſome for ſtrengthe of the bodie, by wraſtling, liftinge of heavye burthens, others for the arme as in caſtinge the barre, ſledge, ſtone, or hurlinge the Bowle, or Ball, others that excelled in ſwiftnes of foote, to wyne the praiſe therein by runinge, and ſuerlye for the exerciſe of the

Fo 106b, anc. 103b. partes aforeſaid this *Knappan* was prudentlye †invented, had the ſame contynued without abuſe thereof: for in it, beſide the exercciſe of the bodielye ſtrengṭh it is not without reſemblance of warlicke providence,[5] as ſhalbe hereafter declared, and firſt before I deſcribe you the playe, I will lett you knowe that this *Knappan* happeneth and falleth out to be by two meanes, the on is a ſettled

[1] Persons.

[2] Throwing the bar and the sledge-hammer. *Sledge* means 'the striker' and the modern addition of 'hammer' is redundant.

[3] Kemes.

[4] This word is formed from the Welsh *cnap*, 'a lump' (a mere loan-word from English), like *cwppan* from *cup* and *capan* from *cap*, the last of which occurs as early as in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, fo. 41ª (Skene's *Four Books*, ii, 42). In some parts of Wales a lump is called *clwppa*, *cloppa* (from some form of the English *club*); *cnappan* still exists in S. Cardiganshire, but only as a verb, meaning 'to knock', and especially to 'go on at' or 'hammer away at' a person. *Knap* occurs in English place-nomenclature in some parts, *e.g*, Furzy *Knaps*, near East Coker, in S.W. Somerset. In parts of Wales another diminutive of *cnap*, viz. *cneppyn*, is similarly used in place-names.

[5] 'Prouidence is wherby a man nat only foreseeth commoditie and incommoditie, prosperitie and aduersitie, but also consulteth and therewith endeuoureth as well to repelle anoyaunce as to attaine and gette profite and aduauntage.' (Elyot, *The Governour*, Croft's ed., i, 246.)

or ſtandinge *Knappan*, the daie and place beinge knowne and yeerelye haunted[1] and obſerved, of theſe *Knappan* daies in *Penbrok-ſhere* there were wont to be fyve in nomber, the firſt at the *Burye-*[2] *ſandes*, betweene the pariſhes of *Neuarne* and *Newport* upon ſhroft tewſdaie[3] yeerely, The ſecond at *Pontaynon*,[4] on *Ester mondaie*, betweene the pariſhes of *Melyney* and *Egloſſerow*, the thirde on Lowe *Esterdaye*[5] at *Pwll dy* in *Penbedow*[6] betweene the pariſhes of *Penrith* and *Penbedow*, the fourthe and fift was wonte to be at *S^t Meygans in Kemes*,[7] betweene *Kemes* men of the on partie, *Standeinge Knappans.*

[1] Frequented ; this is the sense of the French *hanter.*

[2] See p. 101, note 5, above.

[3] Shrove Tuesday.

[4] Pont Gynon is on the border between the two parishes.

[5] The Sunday next after Easter Day.

[6] The parish of Llanfihangel Penbedw.

[7] See pages 100 and 143, above. The importance of St. Meygan's (which was on the very borders of Kemes and Emlyn ; see the documents printed with the *Baronia*, pp. 45, 135) in local ecclesiastical history, and the reason of its disappearance, is shown by the following, which is copied from a MS. in the handwriting of the author, preserved in the *Vairdre Book* at Bronwydd :

[Fo. 85^a.] Wheras we have received l'res from the lordes and others of her ma^tes moſt honorable privie counſell to vs and others directed wherbie we ar willed & requiered to Informe o^r ſelves of all places w^thin this Countie of Pembrooke where in tymes paſt there have bene pilgrimag*es*, Imag*es*, or offring*es*, wher unto (as their lps ar Informed divers fort*es* of people do vſe to repaire as well in the night ſeaſon, as other tymes of the daie & that in great nombers and that we ſholde cauſe thos Idolatrous & ſup*er*ſtitious monument*es* to be pulled downe, broken & quite defaced, ſo as there be no monument, token or memorie remayni*n*g of the ſame, & likewiſe to take order that herafter there be no ſuch vnlaufull reſorte to thos ſup*er*ſticious plac*es* but to appoint ſome diſcrete & well affected p*er*ſons to have an eie & regarde to thos that not-w ſtanding this Inhibicion ſhall repaire to thos places, and to ſe them app*re*hended & brought before vs, to be ſeverelie puniſhed for their diſo-bediience & lewde behavio^r, Thes ar therfore by vertue & authoritie of the ſaid honorable l'res & com*m*iſſion to will and requier yo^u being gent'men to vs knowne to be well affected & forwarde in her ma^tes ſervice, & good of the countrie, forthw^th w all convenient Spede to repaire to the place called S^t. meygans where ſomtyme offring*es* & ſup*er*ſticious pilgrymag*es* have bene vſed, and there to Cauſe to be pulled downe & vtterlie defaced all reliques & monument*es* of that chappell, not leaving one ſtone therof vpon an other, & from tyme to tyme to cauſe to be app*re*hended all ſuch p*er*ſone & p*er*ſones of what ſexe kinde or ſorte whatſoeu*er*, that ſhall p*re*ſume herafter contrarie to the tenor and prporte of the ſaid honorable com*m*iſſion, to repaire either by night er daie to the ſaid chappell or well in ſup*er*ſticious maner & them to bring or ſende before vs or enie one of vs, to be vſed & dealt w^thall according to their defert*es*. hereof praying yo^u to have ſpeciall regarde for the due accompliſh-ment of the p*re*miſſes, as yo^u tender the ſervice of god & her mat^ie & the

and *Emlyn* men, and the men of *Cardiganſhere* w^th^ them of the other partie, the firſt vpon *Aſcention daie* the other vpon *Corpus Christi* daie, and theſe ij laſt were the greate and mayne places, farre exceedinge anye of the former in multitude of people, for at theſe places there hath often tymes ben eſteemed two thowſand foote beſide horſemen, And at theſe daies and places were theſe games wont yeerelye to be exerciſed without anye match makeinge or appointemente, and therefore I call theſe ſtandinge

Appointed knappans the greateſt plaies.

Knappans other the like playes would oftentymes be by makeinge of match betweene two gentlemen, and that at ſuch holedaye or ſondaie as pleaſed them to appointe the tyme and place, w^ch^ moſt comonlye fall out to be the greateſt plaies, for in theſe matches, the gentlemen would devide the pariſhes, hundreds, or ſheres, betweene them, and then would eche laboure to bringe the greateſt nomber, and would therein intreate all his frindes and kinſmen in eu*er*ye pariſhe to come and bringe his pariſhe wholelye with him by w^ch^ meanes greate nomber would moſt vſuallye meete, and therefore againſt theſe matches there would alſoe reſorte to the

Victuallers for the Knappan.

place diuerſe victualers w^th^ meate, drinke and wyne of all ſortes, alſoe marchauntes, mercers, and pedlers would provide ſtalls, and boothes, to ſhewe and vtter[1] theire wares, and for theſe cauſes ſome to playe, ſome to eate and drinke, ſome to buye, and ſome to

Spectatum veniunt veniunt ſpectentur vt ipſae.[2]

fell, others to ſee and others to be ſeene (you know what kinde I meane) greate multitudes of people would reſorte beſide the plaiers./

benefit and quiet of the countrie we take o^r^ leave com*m*ending you to god*es* tuicion, hau*er*forde west, this xiij^th^ of July . . 1592 .

Yo^r^ very loving ffrendes
George Owen
Albane Stepneth
John' ap R*es*

[To Robert] Vaghan gen'
Joh'n' Garnons gent.
Owen ph'es of penbedo gen'
Thom$_{a}$s ap Richard clerke p*ar*ſone of penbedo .
Jeu$_{a}$n dauid clerke p*ar*ſon of Bridell .
George Owen clerke p*ar*ſon of whitchurche .

The above letter is endorsed as follows :

" To o^r^ very loving ffrendes Robert Vaghan, John Garnons & Owen philippes of penbedo gent' Thomas ap Richard clerke p*ar*ſone of penbedo, Jeuan Dauid clerke p*ar*ſone of Bridell & George Owen clerke p*ar*ſone of white-churche & to eche and eu*er*ie of them ."

[1] Send forth. Compare *Romeo and Juliet*, v, 1, and pp. 54, 56-7, above.
[2] Ovid, *Art. Am.*, i, 99.

They contend not for anye wager or valuable thinge, but only for glorie and renowne, firſt for the fame of theire Country in gen*er*all, next eu*ery* p*ar*ticular,[1] to wynne praiſe for his actyvitie and prowes, w^ch^ two conſider*a*c*i*ons ardently enflameth the myndes of ye youthfull people to ſtryve to the deathe for glorie and fame, w^ch^ they eſteeme deerer vnto them then worldlye wealth//: //:

They contend for Glorie ana Renowne.

Fo. 107a, anc. 104a.

†Theire matches are comonly made without ſtinte of nomber, but as they happen to come, wherein alſoe appeareth a pollicie, w^ch^ ſhalbe ſhewed hereafter, for the weaker nomber to ſave the glorye of their Countrey againſt the greater multitude-/.

The companies beinge come together, aboute on or two of the clocke afternoone begineth the playe, in this ſorte, after a crye made both parties drawe together into ſome plaine, all firſt ſtripped bare, ſaveing a light paier of breeches, bare headed, bare bodied, bare leggs and feete, theire clothes beinge layed together in greate heapes, vnder the chardge of certaine keepers appointed for the purpoſe, for if he leave but his ſhirte one[3] his backe in the furye of the game, yt is moſt comonly torne to peeces, and I haue alſoe ſeene ſome longe locke gallantes, trymely trymed at this game, not by powleinge,[4] but by pullinge theire haire and beardes, for waſheinge balles, the Barbor vſeth but his fiſtes and inſteade of warme water taketh luke warme bludd, out of the noſe, mouthe, and face of the younker,[5] this kinde of trymeinge they all doe beſtowe *gratis* without aſkinge anye thinge for theire paines /

They plaie naked.[2]

Rude kind of Barbors.

The foote companie thus meetinge, there is a rounde bowle prepared of a reaſonable quantitie, ſoe as a man may hold it in his hande and noe more, this bowle is of some maſſye wood as box, Ewe,[6] crabbe, or holye tree, and ſhould be boyled in tallow, for to make it ſlipperye, and harde to be holden, this bowle is called *Knappan*, and is by one of the companie hurld bolt upright[7] to[8] the ayre, and at the fall, he that catcheth it hurleth it towardes the

What the knappan is.

[1] Individual ; see above, p. 106. This is one of the senses of the French *particulier*.

[2] *Naked* is here used much in the sense of the Greek γυμνὸς or the Latin *nudus*, 'stripped for work or action'. Cf. '*Nudus* ara, sere *nudus*' (Virg., *Georg.*, i, 299).

[3] On.

[4] Polling, *i.e.*, clipping. See Ezekiel, xliv, 20; 2 Samuel xiv, 26.

[5] Youth ; see Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, IV, i, 11. The word is borrowed from the Dutch *jonker*, also written *jonkheer*, and compounded of *jong*, 'young', and *heer*, 'a lord, sir, or gentleman'. The German equivalent is *Junker*, *i.e.*, *Jung-herr*, 'young master'.

[6] Yew ; see Chaucer's *Assembly of Foules*, line 180.

[7] The expression 'bolt upright' is as old as Chaucer. See his *Reeve's Tale* line 346.

[8] Into or in.

countrey he playeth for, for gole, or appointed place, there is non neyther needeth anye, for the playe is not geven over vntill the *Knappan* be ſoe farre carryed that there is no hope to retorne it backe that night, for the caryeinge of it a mile or two myles from the firſt place, is noe looſeinge of the honor, ſoe it be ſtill followed by the companie, and the playe ſtill maintained, it is often tymes ſeene the chaſe to followe two myles and more, in heate of courſe both by the horſe and foote; The *Knappan* beinge once caſt furthe, you ſhall ſee the ſame toſſed backwarde and forwarde, by hurlinge throwes, in ſtrange ſorte, for in three or four throwes you ſhall ſee the whole bodie of the game removed, halfe a myle and more, and in this ſorte it is a ſtrange ſight to ſee a thouſand or fifteen hundred naked[1] men to concurre together in a cluſter in followinge the *Knappan*, as the ſame is hurled backewarde and forwarde. There is beſide the corps or maine bodie of the playe, certaine ſcoutes or

Scoutes. fore runners, whoſe chardge is alwaies to keepe before the *Knappan* w^ch^ waye ſoever it paſſe, theſe alwaies be of the adverſe parte, betweene the other partie and home, leaſte by ſurrepc*i*on[2] the *Knappan* ſhould be ſnatched by a borderer of the game, and ſoe caryed awaye, by foote or horſe, to thoſe ſcoutes yow ſhall all daye, here the bodie of the maine playe, crye with loude voyces contynuallye, *Cadow ol*,[3] that is looke well to theire backes, as thoughe theire cheefe care laye in that pointe, as it doth indeede, if the *Knappan* happen to come to the handes of a luſtie hurler, he throweth the ſame in a wonderfull ſorte towardes his Countrey, further than anye man would iudge the ſtrength of the arme were able, if it happen to the handes of a good footeman he preſentlye ſenglethe[4] himſelfe, and runneth and breaketh out of the bodie of

Fo. 107b, anc. 104b. the game into †ſome plaine grounde in the ſwifteſt ſorte he can, w^ch^ beinge perceaued all the companye followeth, where the good footemanſhippe of all the companie is plainely diſcerned, beinge a comfortable[5] ſight, to ſee fyve or ſixe hundred good footemen to followe in chaſe a mile or ij as grey houndes after a hare, where you ſhall ſee ſome gaine in running vpon his precedentes,[6] ſome forced to come behinde thoſe that were once foremoſt, w^ch^ greately delighteth the beholders, and forceth them to followe likewiſe to ſee the pleaſure of the chaſe, and thus the on ſeeketh to wynne

[1] See note 2 on last page. [2] Stealth; cf. p. 229, line 1, above.
[3] *Cadw ôl!* 'Keep the back (*i.e.*, support the back of the game!)'
[4] Singles.
[5] Giving satisfaction. Compare the 'comfortable sacrament' of the Liturgy and Ford, *The Sun's Darling*, Act i, sc. 1. [6] Those in front.

honor by his footmanſhippe, vntill he be overtaken by a better runner, or encountred by one of the ſcoutes w^ch^ will not fayle to meete w^th^ him, and when he ſeeth himſelf neere ſurpriſed, or that his breath or leggs faile him, he hurleth the bowle forwarde towardes his Countrey, with a greate violence, and perchance it lighteth to ſome of his fellowes, whoe caryeth the ſame as farre againe, which notwithſtandinge is not given over as longe as the maine bodie is anye thinge neere at hande, and when the bowle happeneth to one of the contrary parte yt cometh backe againe as faſt ; and in this ſorte you ſhall in an open field ſee two thouſand naked[1] people followe this bowle backewarde and forwarde, eaſt, weſte, north, and ſouthe, ſoe that a ſtranger that caſuallye ſhould ſee ſuch a multitude ſoe ranging naked,[1] would thinke them diſtracted; yt is ſtrange to behold w^th^ what egernes this playe is followed, for in the fury of the chaſe they reſpecte neyther hedge, ditch, pale, or wall, hill, dale, buſhes, River or Rocke, or anye other paſſable impedimente, but all ſeemeth plaine vnto them, wherein alſoe they ſhew ſuch agillitie in runninge, ſuch actyvitie in leapinge, ſuch ſtrength and ſkillfull deliu*er*ance in hurleinge, ſuch bouldnes in aſſaultinge, ſuch ſtoutnes in reſiſtinge, ſuch pollicie in inventinge, ſuch ſkill in preventinge, as takinge them out of theire game, they are not able to performe or invent half the prowes, or deviſes, ſhewed in the ſame, a thinge much noted of men of judgemente ;/

The horsemenn

The horſemen haue monſtrouſe cudgells, of iij foote and a halfe longe, as bigge, as the partie is well able to wild,[2] and he that thinketh him ſelfe well horſed maketh meanes to his ffrindes of the footemen to haue the *Knappan* deliu*er*ed him, w^ch^ beinge gotten, he putteth ſpurres and awaye, as faſt as the leggs will carrye, after him runneth the reſt of the horſemen, and if they can overtake him, he ſommoneth a deliu*er*ye of the *Knappan ;* w^ch^ ſhould be thriſe by lawe of the game, but nowe they ſcarce geve it once till he ſtricke,[3] and if he hold the *Knappan*, yt is lawfull for the aſſaylante to beate him w^th^ his Cudgell, till he deliu*er* it, the beſte of foote troupes, alſoe will followe the horſe, whoe are ſoe well enſeymed,[4] by the often exerciſe of the game, as that when the

[1] See note 2 on p. 273, above.

[2] Wield.

[3] Strike ; compare '*stricken* in years'.

[4] Trained, literally greased. See *Hamlet*, iii, 4. The old English word *seam*, 'grease', is from the Old-French *saime*, *saim*, *sain* (from the Latin *sagīna*, *sagmen*), whence the modern *sain*doux, 'lard'; the word was borrowed in Welsh where it exists as *saim*, 'grease'.

horſemen miſſe, to fetch vpp the *Knappan*, the foote will often tymes recover the ſame, and will in heate of chaſe, followe the *Knappan* ij° or iij^ee^ myles, till the horſe be ſpente, and will bringe backe the *Knappan* when it is out of ſight and paſt hope, this exerciſe if due orders were obſerved, and the abuſes reformed, were a moſt warlike exerciſe, both for horſe and foote, but the diſorders are ſoe encreaſed, that the playe is baniſhed; and allmoſt
Fo. 108a, anc. 105a. forſaken, for by the Ancient cuſtome †of the playe, the footemen were not to vſe anye thinge, but the bare fiſtes, neyther was it
Auncient orders of Knappan. permitted to the horſmen to come amonge the foote troupes, for that the footemen playeing all bare footed, maye receaue greate annoyaunce by the horſe, and therefore it was permitted for the foote men to chaſe the horſemen from amonge them, by hurlinge ſtones at them, alſoe the horſmens cudgell was to be aſſiſed[1] by drawing it throwe a ringe, made for the purpoſſe, and the ſame to be of a haſell ſoe as the ſame might harme, but not mightelye hurte anye perſon, alſoe it was not lawfull to ſtrike anye man haueinge the *Knappan*, but after iij ſommons or demaundes to hurle of the *Knappan;* w^ch^ if he deliu*er* from him, he was to reſt in peace, and free from the *Baſtonado*, neyther might anye horſman or foote, be aſſaulted, that had not the *Knappan*, nor longer to be cudgelled, then[2] he had the ſame, theſe and diu*er*ſe other good ordinances as the reporte goeth, hath ben belonginge to this game in ould tyme, but nowe at this playe privatt grudges are revendged,[3]
Abuſes of the Playe. ſoe that for eu*er*ye ſmall occaſion they fall by the eares, w^ch^ beinge but once kindled betweene two, all perſons on both sides become parties, ſoe that ſometymes you ſhall ſee fyve or vj hundred naked men, beatinge in a cluſture[4] together, as faſt as the fiſte can goe, and there parte moſt be taken eu*er*yeman with his companie, ſoe that you ſhall ſee two brothers theon beateinge theother, the man the maiſter, and frinde againſt frinde, they nowe alſoe will not ſticke to take[5] vpp ſtones and there with in theire fiſtes beate theire fellowes, the horſemen will intrude and ryde into the footemens troupes, the horſeman choſeth the greateſt cudgell he can gett, and the ſame of oke, aſhe, blackthorne or crab-tree, and ſoe huge as it were able to ſtrike downe an oxe or horſe, he will alſoe aſſault anye for privatt grudge,[3] that hath not the *Knappan*, or cudgell

[1] Measured. See *Palladius on husbondrie* (Early English Text Society), p. 177, line 180, 'ıı finger thicke assise'. The word *assise* is the mediæval Latin *assisa*, corrupted sometimes into *sissa*, as in Nennius, Stevenson's ed., § 69 (*Mirabilia Britanniæ*), where it means the level of water or the like. [2] Than. [3] See note 2 on p. 282, below. [4] Cluster. [5] Hesitate to take, or *stick at* taking.

him after he hath delt[1] the ſame from him, and when on[2] blowe is geven, all falleth by the eares, eche aſſaultinge other with theire vnreaſonable[3] cudgells, ſparinge neyther heade, face, nor anye parte of the bodie, the footemen fall ſoe cloſe to it, beinge once kindled with furie as they wholely forgett the playe, and fall to beatinge, till they be out of breathe, and then ſome nomber hold theire handes vpp over theire heades and crye, *hethwgh, hethwgh*,[4] that is, peace, peace, and often tymes this parteth them, and to theire playe they goe a newe, Neyther maye there be anye looker on at this game, but all muſt be acto*ur*s, for ſoe is the cuſtome and curteſye of the playe, for if one that cometh with a purpoſe onlye to ſee the game, be he foote or horſe, when the multitude ſhall encloſe him in, as often tymes in followeinge of the Bowle is ſeene to happen, and then the looker on, beinge in the middeſt of the troupe is made a player, by giveinge him a *Baſtonado* or two, if he be on horſe, and by lendinge him halffe a dozen cuffs if he be on foote, this much maye a ſtranger haue of curteſye, althoughe he expecte noethinge at theire handes /

Curteſie the Play to strangers.

You ſhall ſee gameſters retorne home from this playe with broken heades, black faces, bruſed bodies, and lame legges, yett laugheinge & merylie jeſtinge at theire harmes, tellinge theire adu*er*ſaries how he brake his heade [1]to an other that he ſtrake him on the face, and howe he repaied the ſame to him againe, and all this in good mirthe, without grudge or hatred, and if anye be in arrerages to the other they ſkore it vpp till the next plaie, and in the meane tyme will contynue loveinge frindes, whereas if the leaſt of theſe blowes be offred out of this playe, it preſentlye breedeth vnquenchable quarrells, by this you ſee the horſemens game is right horſe playe,[5] and theire lawe plaine *Stafford lawe*,[6]

Fo. 108b, anc. 105b.

[1] Dealt. Chaucer, *Prologue*, 247, uses the infinitive 'delen'.

[2] One. [3] Unconscionable.

[4] *Heddwch.* The author also uses *gh* for the Welsh *ch* in *Clvdagh, Clydaghe*, pp. 97, 101, *bagh*, p. 115, *gromlegh*, p. 251, above.

[5] The verbs *marcho* (from *march*, 'a stallion') and *horsio* (from the English *horse*) are both used in parts of N. Wales to express horse-play :

''Nhw dyngan' ac a regan', gan guro ac ymrwygo,
A dryllio 'r gêr o'u cwmpas, yn dawnsio ac yn campio,
A gwych gan eu c'lonnau chwareu ambell wers
O *Brick Mee Hers*, a *Horsio*.'

(Twm o'r Nant, *Pedair Colofn Gwladwriaeth*, Merthyr Edition, p. 56.

Hersio is also used, but does not imply such roughness as *horsio*.— E. P.

[6] The law of the stick. There was a saying, 'He hath been tried in Stafford Court.'

Horſe plaie

Yf the on partie perceave it ſelfe to be over matched in nomber w^ch^ is knowne by the over mayne throwes one that ſide, and ſoe feare to looſe the honor of that daies worke, theire pollicie is to make as many thronges[1] and ſtoppes as they can, w^ch^ in welſhe they call *Cad*[2] w^ch^ is to ſtoppe and hold the bowle from playe, and is don in this ſorte: one of the weaker ſide happeninge on the

A Pollicie for the weaker partie to defend themſelues

Knappan clappeth the ſame against his bellye, holding it faſt with bothe his hands, another of his companie, claſpeth him about the middle, turneing face to face, ſoe then is the *Knappan* in faſtnes betweene both their bellyes, & then cometh more of the ſame ſide and layeth gripes on and rounde aboute them bothe, ſoe that you ſhall ſee a hundred or vj ſcore thus cluſtred together as Bees, when they ſwarme, are knitte together (the bowle beinge in the middeſt of them) w^ch^ the other partie ſeeketh to open or undoe, by haleinge and pullinge, but in vaine, ſoe longe, till the firſt men be out of breathe, and can endure this laboure noe longer, thus you ſhall haue the bowle ſtopped a quarter of an houre, and then an other companie vndertaketh the like toyle, and thus by viij or ix thronges they will were out the daie, and geve over playe, without diſgrace to themſelves and theire countrey.

The throwes w^ch^ are made in this game, and w^ch^ are ſtrange to behold be called by the name of *llyzw* or *llyzwo*,[3] w^ch^ is not to be applied to anye kinde of throwinge, but of the *Knappan* onlye w^ch^ *Vergill* in diſcribeing this game, termeth, *magno in gyro et curvatis ſpaciis* by reaſon of the great compaſſe w^ch^ the bowle maketh in flyeinge. /

This playe of *Knappan* ſeemeth to be an ancient excercyſe deſcended to vs Welſhmen from our firſt progenitors the *Troians*,[4] for the *heroicall poet Virgill* in deſcribeing the rage of Queene *Amata* wiefe to Kinge *Latinus* beinge enraged by the poyſon of *Alecto* for the intended mariadge of her daughter *Lauinia* with our ancient progenitor *Eneas* cold not better deſcribe the ſame, then by compareinge her madd rage to the furye of this game /

[1] Cf. *Henry V*, iv, 5.

[2] *Câd*, 'a battle or fight.'

[3] *Llywio*, 'to direct'; originally 'to steer'.

[4] The author follows the mediæval legend, made current by Geoffrey of Monmouth, Book i, chap. 16, that Brute or Brutus, the Trojan, gave his name to Britain. Brutus and Corineus, the eponymus of *Cernyw* (adjective *Corneu*, 'Cornish') or *Cornubia*, the South-Western part of England, now reduced to *Corn*-wall, are there made to divide Great Britain (previously called *Albion*) between them. See note 2 on p. 263, above.

†*Immenſam ſine more furit lymphata per vrbem*
ceu quondam torto volitans ſub verbere turbo
quem pueri magno in gyro, vacua atria circum
intenti ludo excercent, ille actus habena
curuatis fertur ſpacijs ſtupet inſcia turba
Impubeſque manus mirata volubile buxum.
Dant animos plagæ: non curſu ſegnior illo
per medias vrbes agitur[1] &c

Fo. 109a, anc. 106a.

which to interprette I will vſe the wordes of our countreyman and worthie ſcholler Mr. *Doctor Phaer*[2] in his tranſlacion of the aucthor w^ch^ are theſe

She raileinge rampes and roames, and throw the towne she trobleth all
much like, as when by strength of sling is cast a whirleing ball
whom boies for theire diſport in cloister wide or vacant halles
intentyue driue w^th^ noiſe, It throwen w^th^ force, before them falles
the careles preaſſe purſues w^th^ wondering much the bowle of boxe
From youth to youth that rolles, theire courage kindleth more by knoxe
none otherwiſe and with noe leſſe concurrs,[3] *ſhe gads aboute*
through Citties midst the townes, and people thick ſhe gathereth out

And in the margent[4] Mr. Phaer beinge as well acquainted with the game, as practiſed in the author, layeth this note in the margent[4] vpon the place *This plaie is vſed in Wales, and the balle is called Knappan*, whereby he ſeemeth to vnderſtand the *Knappan* nowe vſed in this Countrey, to be the ſame playe ſpoken of by *Virgill* vſed in ancient tyme amonge the people of *Eneas*, and our ancient cozens the Corniſhmen haue the ſelfe ſame exerciſe amonge them yett obſerved, w^ch^ they call hurlinge,[5] whereby it ſeemeth this exerciſe is more ancient then orderlye obſerved,

Antiquities of Knappan

Hurlinge in Cornwall

[1] Virgil, *Æneid*, vii, 377; but what the 'heroicall poet' had in his mind was not so much *knappan* as played in Kemes as the even more ancient pastime of whipping-top. [2] See pp. 239-240, above. [3] Concourse.

[4] Margin. See Milton's *Comus*, l. 232: 'By slow Mæander's *margent* green.'

[5] Carew, *Survey of Cornwall*, Tonkin's ed., 1811, pp. 195-9, gives an account of 'hurling to the country' (which closely resembles *knappan*), played in West Cornwall; and 'hurling to goals', a more scientific game, played in East Cornwall with a limited number of players, the object being to drive the ball between two bushes set ten feet apart. Carew thus concludes his account of 'hurling to the country': 'you shall see them (the players) retiring home as from a pitched battle, with bloody pates, bones broken, and out of joint, and such bruises as serve to shorten their days; yet all is good play, and never attorney nor coroner troubled about the matter.' See further as to the Cornish game of hurling in more recent times (1) Hunt's *Popular Romances of the West of England*, 2nd Series, 1st ed., 1865, pp. 193-5 (a book the collections for which were commenced in 1829), where we are told that the game had survived till lately west

Thus haueinge tyred my ſelf in diſcribinge this vnruly playe, I will here ende with a merrye ieſt or two touchinge the ſame ſporte /

One a tyme a gentleman of good worſhippe, being deſirouſe to ſee the game, and beinge mounted on a faire gelding made meanes that he had[1] the *Knappan* deliv*er*ed him, and put his horſe to his footemanſhippe whoe farre exceedinge anye of the companie, for ſtature, and good keapeinge, thoughte himſelf ſuer from overtakeinge, but his gelding fallen once out of breath began to ſlacke, and the gentleman was overtaken by an old greye headed countrey ſwaine, hoarſe in voice, and rude in maners, mounted upon a little leane nagge furniſhed with a padde,[2] & a collerr, but better breathed[3] than the ſtalle fed geldinge, ſommoned the gentleman to deale the Knappan, whoe ſcorneinge the fellowe, ſpurred on, and at the third ſommons, the old ryder, ſhewed the gentleman the lawe of the game, and with his cudgell meaſured the breadth of his ſhoulders,
Fo. 109b, anc. 106b. †and againe, and againe, then the head, and on as faſt as he cold, vntill the gentleman cryed amaine,[4] and lookeing aboute, ſawe
Whereof knappan taketh the name none but himſelfe and this old rude *Knappaner* in place, deſireinge him to hold his hands (if he were a man) till he might drawe the *Knappan* out of his hoſe[5] and deliu*er*ed the Knappan to the old man, with Chriſtes courſe[6] and his with it, and ſoe did this old man coniure the finde[7] out of his hoſe, that ſoe tormented him, and the gentleman deliu*er*ed out of danger, and at his comeinge that night to his lodgeinge beinge a brothers houſe of his, ſware the playe was aptlye called *Knappan*, for ſaied he I have by it gotten ſtore of Knappes[8] on my head and ſhoulders,

of Penzance, and was still played in one form at St. Ives, St. Columb, and St. Blazey ; (2) Murray's *Handbook to Cornwall*, ed. 1879, *Introduction*, pp. [13], [14], where we are told that the game was then confined to the parishes of St. Columb Major and Minor. The goal consisted of a pole, a church tower, or the inside of a church, and the opposing parties were often the inhabitants of two adjacent parishes or of two parts of the same parish. The balls were wooden, covered with a silver plate, often inscribed *Gware wheag yeo gware teag*, 'Fair play is sweet play' (= Welsh *Chware chwêg yw chware têg*). The Gloucestershire game of *Knot* was played with clubs. See note 2 on p. 282 below.

[1] Contrived to have.
[2] A stuffed saddle.
[3] Winded.
[4] With all his might : see 2 *Hen. VI*, iii, 1.
[5] The *trunk-hose*, loose breeches reaching to the knee.
[6] Cf. *God's curse*, 2 *Hen. VI*, iv, 8.
[7] Fiend.
[8] Blows. See *King Lear*, ii, 4, 125, and Tusser, *Dinner Matters*.

An other younge man hauinge once a horſebacke caryed awaie the *Knappan*, w^ch^ he turned to his greate praiſe, the next playe cam well mounted to the game, aſſuringe himſelf to doe the like, rode vpp and downe a greate parte of the daie, and miſſed to haue it in handlinge,[1] wherevpon he deviſed a waie to deceaue the people by makeinge them beleave he had the *Knappan*, ſingled himſelf out of the companie, and in a faire lardge plaine, put his horſe to runne a main race, w^ch^ being diſcerned all the horſemen followed thinkinge he had the *Knappan*, in the ende beinge overtaken was ſommoned to caſt the *Knappan*, but he ſpured on, the other, in the ende layed on loade on his heade and ſhoulders, till he cryed, leave,[2] I haue not the *Knappan*, the other would not truſt his worde, ſtill willed[3] him with ſtripes to laye down the *Knappan*, then he ſwore by god he had it not, the other would not beleave his oathe without a booke, w^ch^ he had not leaſure to hold him, layed on ſoe faſt that he ſtrake him downe, and alightinge Rifled and rent his hoſe and clothes, and then perceaved he had not the *Knappan* ſaied h*e* would beleave his worde the next tyme, but gave him his bleſſinge that[4] he cryed *Och*,[5] for coſeninge him of a beateinge in that ſorte, and ſoe he retvrned to his fellowes, where he founde the *Knappan* toſſed betweene them, and made his complainte to them how he had ben deceaved.

An other prettye conceipte worthe the remembringe vttered by on in the yeere 1588 when the ſpaniardes were with theire termed (but not truelye) Invincible Navie on the Coaſte, ſeeinge in the *Knappan* a multitude of horſe and ſootemen, all by the eares fightinge, to the nomber of vj or vij hundred, whereof moſt were hurte and blooddye, aſked howe this would be pacified, well, ſaied on, this is all in playe, and will be taken in good parte, if this be but playe, quoth the other man, I cold wiſhe the ſpaniardes were here to ſee our plaies in E*ngland*, Certes they would be in bodielye feare of our warre /.

An other poore man in the yeere 1587 beinge a yeere of greate ſcarſitie of corne and haueinge come out of his countrey for want of breade ſeeinge a multitude of naked[6] men runneinge hayleinge[7] and pullinge †on at an other vppe and downe, the fieldes, after the *Knappan* never ſeene by him before, aſked aboute what they ſtryved in that ſorte, was anſwered they ſtryved, whoe ſhould haue

Fo. 11ca, anc. 107a.

[1] Failed to secure it. [2] 'Leave me alone!'
[3] Required; cf. *Timon of Athens*, iv, 3.
[4] So that. [5] 'Alas!' [6] See note 2 on p. 273, above.
[7] Dragging. See Chaucer, *Assembly of Foules*, 151, and St. Luke, xii, 58.

the *Knappan*, what (quoth he) is that *Knappan*, yt is ſaied theother a bowle of woode little bigger then my fiſte, O fooles ſaied the other to keepe ſuch a ſturre[1] for a peece of wood, they would I warrant yow ſtryve mightilye if there were a penye loffe of Breade caſt in amonge them whoe ſhould haue it /.

This w^ch^ I haue written of this *Knappan* I writt moſt, as *testis oculatus*, for that I haue ben oftentymes an Agent and paciente at this vnrulye exerciſe, and haue often felt the ſmarte, that I haue written (eſpeciallye of the horſe playe) and therefore as in deedes I may herein conclude with the wordes, *In cuius Rei teſtimonium Sigilla ſua appoſuerunt* which ſignes and ſeales I carrye in my heade handes and other partes of my bodye.[2]

Finis 18 *Maij* 1603

liber 2.

The ſecunde parte of the diſcription of Penbrockſhire wherein is handled the Geographicall and Hiſtoricall diſcription of everie Hundred, and in the ſame of every pariſhe and therein the Townreddes, Villadges, Monaſteries, Priories, Caſtells, Gentlemens houſes, and other places of note, with ſuch matter of antiquitie as concerneth the ſame, found eyther by auncient Record or Writinge, Teſtimary[3] or true Tradition by the auncient people the auncient

[1] This is exactly the Welsh idiom *cadw swn*, or *cadw mwstwr*, 'to make a noise'. One hears 'to keep a noise' used in English by Welsh people, whether naturally Welsh-speaking or natives of Anglicized parts of Wales.

[2] See the quotation from Carew in note 5 on p. 279, above. Hunt (*op. cit.* in the same note, p. 194) ascribes the disuse of the Cornish hurling to 'the many accidents that usually attended that game'. In Cornwall, as in Kemes, it was often played on a Sunday, a circumstance which may also have contributed to its discontinuance by a Sabbatarian generation.

The game of *Knappan* was also played in the parishes of Troed yr Aur and Penbryn, in Cardiganshire, near the boundary of Kemes, according to an account of 'Trefdroyr parish' (the name is now pronounced *Trôd yr Oyr*) written before 1700 (Rawlinson MSS., B, 468, fo. 12[a]), where we find mention of 'y^e^ game vulgarly call^d^ Knap^n^. an anc^t^ game in y^t^ p*ar*ish & p^t^ of Pembryn . y^e^ west of y^e^ p*ar*ish'. Mr. Gwenogfryn Evans informs the writer that about thirty years ago there was a lively tradition of a similar game having been played between the Blaenau Gwenog and Bro Gwenog, the two divisions of the parish of Llanwenog, higher up the Teifi in Cardiganshire, and that the game was discontinued on account of the violence with which it was accompanied—owing to advantage being taken of the license of the game (as in the case of the Pembrokeshire *Knappan*; see p. 276, above) to pay off private grudges.

[3] Testimony.

and moderne owners of moſt of theſe places with theire diſcent and armes with many other notes woorth the knowledge.[1]/

After[2] w^ch^ gen*er*all diſcription of the whole ſheere I meane to deſcribe p*ar*ticularly eu*er*y hundred by it ſelf and therin to Entreat of eu*er*y p*ar*ticular p*ar*iſh, townred, manor, Lordshipp, caſtle, howſe, riu*er*, hill, woode; forreſt, p*ar*ke, chaſe abbeie priorye and other thinge of name w^ch^ I ſhall thinke worthie to be ſpoken of towards the w^ch^ p*ar*ticular diſcription of ech hundred I ame to crave the furtheraunce and helpe of ſome gentlemen in ech p*ar*t of the ſheere and for theire better remembraunce I haue drawne ſome ſpeciall notes whereof they may enquire and to note downe in writinge ſuch thinges as they ſhall lerne, and thinke fitt as well vppo*n* the form*er*e point*es* of the gen*er*all diſcription of the ſheere as vppon the p*ar*ticular diſcription of the hundred w^th^ all other matters that they ſhall thinke fitt for ſuch a purpoſe.

1· Inprimis the meeres and Lanſkares of ech hundred to be p*er*fectly laid downe and the moſt notable thinges of name vppo*n* the la*n*gſkares as riu*er*s tomps of erth, hepes of ſtones, rockes, paths, or waies or what ſoeu*er* thinge ells that carrith[3] name.

2· how many manors or Lordſhipps are in eche hundred & theire names who weare ownors thereof in tymes paſt and who are now, and how they come to the ownors and whether by inheritance or by pourchace and from whome.

3· the names of all the villages and townredds in every p*ar*iſhe and whereof they tooke firſt theire name, if it may be knowen, and whoſe theſame were of old tyme & are nowe and whether theſame be it[4] ſtandinge or decayed.

4· of all p*ar*iſhes and townreddes that are inhabited w^th^ Iriſh people, when they came firſt to inhabit, what trade of liefe

[1] Here ends the Harleian MS. No. 6250.

[2] This outline of the second book of the *Description of Penbrokeshire* is found in the author's writing in the *Vairdre Book* at Bronwydd (see the Preface to this work, p. xx), in which there are three copies of the table of contents of both the first and the second books. The author had undoubtedly collected a great quantity of material for the second book (which has now for the most part been dispersed), and that the book was never written is a loss to historical literature. See the Preface to this work.

[3] Carrieth.

[4] Yit, *i.e.*, yet.

they vſe, whether they and theire children continue Iriſh like in man*er*s and ſpeech or become Engliſh.[1]

5· of all caſtles and gentlemens howſes decayede or nowe Remayninge and who weare the ownors thereof in old tyme and now p*re*ſent, w^th^ the pedigree and Armes of the gentlemen if it may be knowne and by whome and when the ſame caſtles and gentlemens howſes were buylte.

6· of all armes and tombes that are to be found in Eu*er*y p*ar*iſh church and chapple as well in the windeos[2] as ells where whoſe names and tombes theſame are, who are nowe theire heires, what armes it is, & if yt may not be knowne yet to take a note of the names and tombes & in what p*ar*t of the church theſame ſtandeth.

7· of Eu*er*y p*ar*iſh church and whether theſame be imp*ro*priat[3] or not and to what relligiouſe houſe theſame doth or did belonge in tymes paſt, whoſe gifte eu*er*y church is or was both p*ar*ſonage or vicaredge and what S^t^ was accompted patrone of theſame p*ar*iſh and the feaſt day that did belonge to theſame Sainct and at what day of the moneth the ſame was obſervid.

8· of all chapples of eaſe in eu*er*y p*ar*iſhe & other chapples & whether theſame be decaied or vſed as yett.

[1] For the Irish irruption into Pembrokeshire see chapter iv, pp. 38-41, above (cf. *Camb. Reg.*, ii, 72), where it appears that the Irish mainly settled in the hundreds of Roose and Castlemartin, and that they 'daily ferried over' from Ireland into Pembrokeshire. The immigrants consisted largely of the English inhabitants of 'the Pale', driven out by the pressure which followed on the successes and consequent encroachments of the 'mere Irish' without the Pale. But this passage (and also a passage on p. 40, above) seems to shew that at least some of the invading swarm spoke Irish as their native tongue.

This immigration of Irish into the S.W. of England and Wales seems to have *begun* at least as early as 1530-40, for Leland (*Itin.*, ii, 63) says that Minehead in N.W. Somerset, which he calls *Minheved*, 'is exceeding ful of Irisch Menne'.

The word *rath*, used in Pembrokeshire for an earthwork, is by some supposed to be derived from an archaic form of the synonymous Irish *ráth* (which is now pronounced somewhat as the English *raw*, and the Welsh equivalent for which is *rhawd*, occurring, *e.g.*, in '*rhod*-wydd', 'bedd-*rawd*'; cf. '*Rat*-æ', the Roman name for Leicester), introduced by these Anglo-Irish emigrants; in the *local* Pembrokeshire pronunciation the *a* of the word is long, as in Irish, though the 'upper classes' pronounce it *răth*.

[2] Windows; from the old Norse *vindauga*, literally the 'wind-eye'. The Danish is *vindue*.

[3] That is to say, whether the advowson is in lay hands.

9. of all abbeies, monaſtaries, frieries, hoſpitulls, maudlens[1] Almeſ-howſes and ſuch like in Eu*er*y hundred or p*ar*iſh, and what may be lernid of them and of the founders if it may be knowne.
10. of all other chapples and croſſes erected & what report or fame goeth thereof.
11. of all places of pilgrimage or ſup*er*ſtition in tymes paſt as chapples wells, ſtones, ſhrines of S^tis^ where they ſtand how they are callid, and at what tymes and daies in the yere the reſort was, and for what diſeaſe or end it ſeruid as it is reported.
12. of all places of name whereof there Remaineth any memory emonge the inhabitant*es*, or any wonder or any fielde fought, any holde or caſtle in tymes paſt, tompe of erth or ſtones erectid or other thinge.
13. of all freſh riu*er*s and brookes how they are callid where they ſpringe, by what places of name they rune and where they end by fallinge into the ſea, or other greter riu*er* & about what bignes theſame riu*er*s or brookes are.
14. of ſtandinge pooles and ponds of water and famouſe bogges
15. of all great fiſhinges vſed in tymes paſt and now p*re*ſently in any bay haven, harborowe or riu*er* as of heringes, hakes, pilchers, ſamond*es* ſuinges and ſuch like whether the ſame be decaied or not, and how longe ſince it is decaied and the-cauſe of the decaie thereof if it be knowne and at what tyme of the yeare theſame fiſhinge was vſed and how longe it endured eu*er*y yeare.
16. of all Burrowes[2] and townes incorporat that now are or have bene in tymes paſt, and whether the ſame be decaied or continue as yett and an eſtimate how many burgages[3] was there in tymes paſt, what officers gou*er*nid the ſame and how they weare elected and by whome and whoe was or is lorde of ſuch Burrowes.
17. of all auncient deare parkes, forreſtes, chaſes, of what qua*n*-tytye the ſame was, whoſe theſame weare and are how longe ſince theſame are diſp*ar*ked, or decaied & how theſame was encloſed whether w^th^ pale or wall and to what caſtle manor or howſe yt belonged.[4]

[1] See p. 98, above, note 6.

[2] Boroughs.

[3] Probably a mistake for 'burgesses'. A 'burgage' was a peculiar kind of borough holding. The word is used in Pembrokeshire for a small enclosure.

[4] See pp. 86-7, above.

18. of all freſhwells y^t ebbe or flowe as y^e ſea doth if any ſuch be & whether it agree in tyddes w^th y^e ebbinge & flowinge of y^e ſea or not.[1]

19. of the vsuall meſure of land in eu*er*y hundred, manor, or p*ar*iſh, how many foote make the pole of theire acre, Ox lande, plow land, knighte fee, and ſuch like, and how theſame meſures do differ in one place from an other if any ſuch difference be.[2]

20 of all Ilandes in the ſea, howe the ſame are callid of what bignes and what thinges or places of name are in theſe Ilande*s* as chapples, wells and forte*s* or ſuch thinge, and of all ſmall rockes or ſtones and what p*ro*fitt or commodity theſame rockes or ſtones do yeld as fowle and ſuch thinge & whoſe theſame are.[3]

21. Alſo to enquire of all other notable thinges or matters that yov ſhall find or thinke fitt for ſuch a pourpoſe, be it of any matter thatt yo^u ſhall ſee or p*er*ceive w^th the eie, or any hiſtorie or act done or report of old tyme or latelye, and fit to be remembrid and breifly to note theſame in writinge.

[1] See p. 244, notes 1 and 2, and p. 245, note 1, above.

[2] See pp. 133-6, above.

[3] See pp. 110-5, above.

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